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• VICTORIOUS

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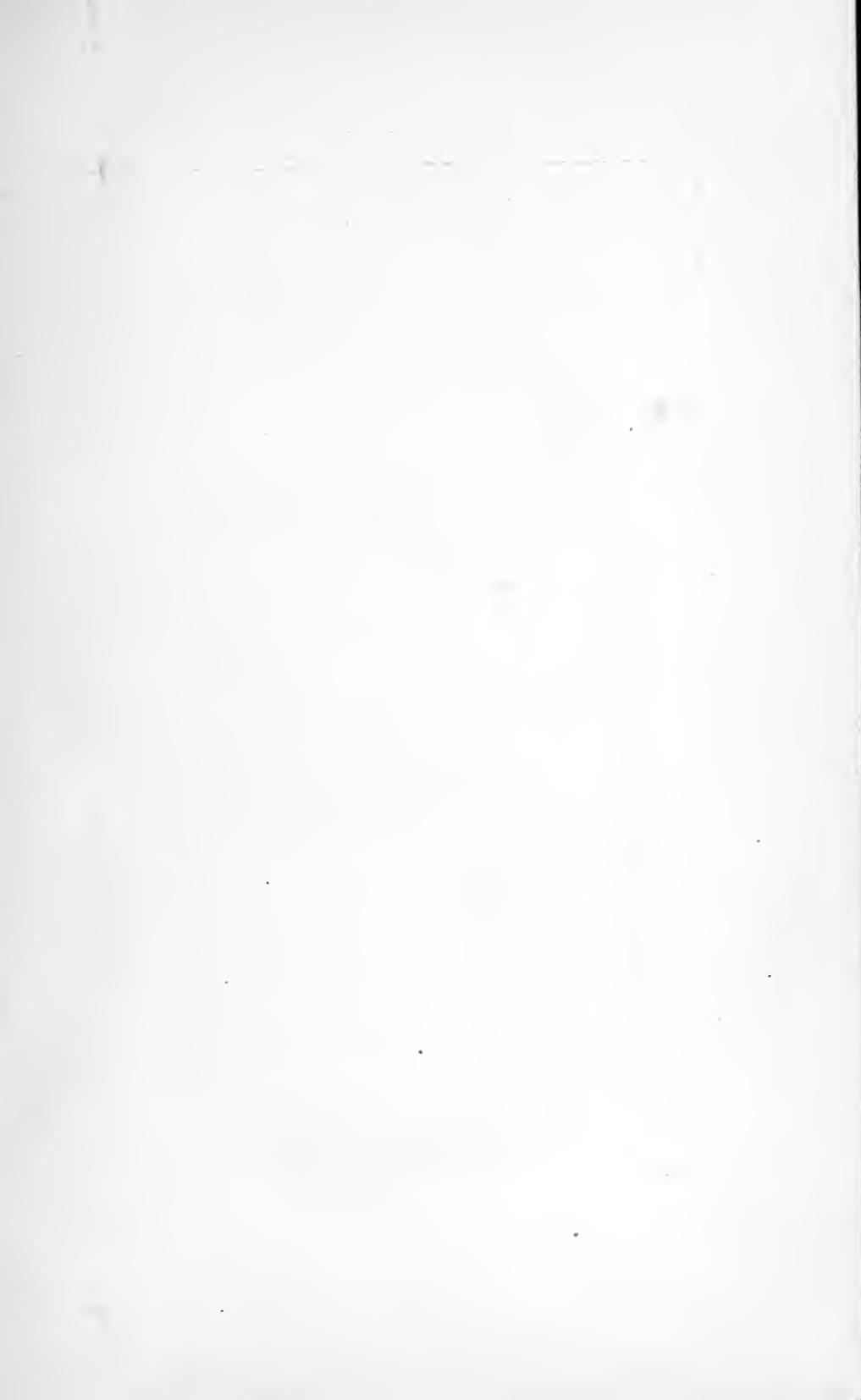
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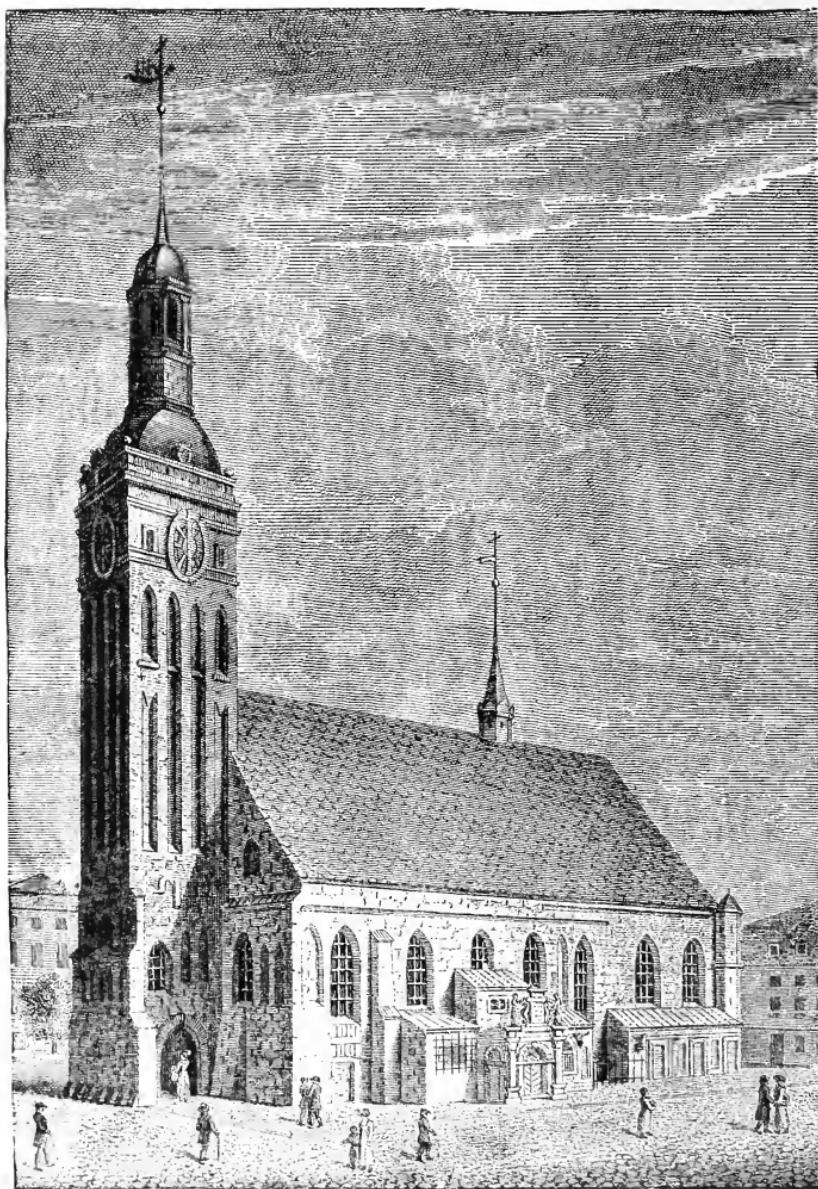
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SOUTH VIEW OF THE OLD-TOWN CHURCH AT KÖNIGSBERG BEFORE ITS DEMOLITION.

FAITH VICTORIOUS,

BEING AN ACCOUNT OF THE LIFE AND
LABORS, AND OF THE TIMES

OF

THE VENERABLE DR. JOHANN EBEL,

LATE ARCHDEACON OF THE OLD TOWN CHURCH OF
KÖNIGSBERG, IN PRUSSIA.

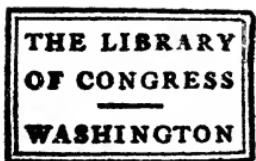
DRAWN FROM AUTHENTIC SOURCES,

J. L. MOMBERT, D.D.

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P R E F A C E.

THIS work presents :

1. The biography of a Lutheran clergyman, but little known outside of Germany, but whose commanding intellect, interesting history, and apostolic zeal in the maintenance and vindication of pure and true evangelical doctrine in opposition to the skepticism and deadness of German Christianity in the first third of this century, *entitle* him to the gratitude, love and veneration which all lovers of the Lord Jesus Christ owe to the champions and martyrs of the faith once delivered to the saints.
2. An account of a phase of religious life in Germany, the existence of which is not generally known, and *frequently doubted*, in countries of English speech, illustrative of the inherent power of Christianity to purify, develop and ennable the natural endowments of the soul to the loftiest self-consecration. Acquaintance with the noble characters introduced cannot fail to interest and benefit all Christian readers.

3. A contribution to Church History, by unfolding the authentic data of the famous Religious Suit of Königsberg.

The uses contemplated affect the clergy and laity alike; the clergy, by laying open the springs and methods of a singularly useful, effective and blessed ministry; the laity, by holding up the illustrious example of so many devoted Christians to their admiration, encouragement and edification.

The production, in an Appendix, of an interesting and original conception of the origin and government of the world, it is hoped, will be welcomed as a contribution to the literature of philosophical and theological thought.

The author trusts and prays that this work and labor of love may be blessed to his brethren in the ministry, and to the vastly greater number of his brethren of the household of faith, fellow-citizens with the saints, and of the commonwealth of God.

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FAITH VICTORIOUS.

CHAPTER I.

EARLY YEARS

THE subject of this memoir, Johannes Wilhelm Ebel, was born March 4, 1784, at Passenhein, in East Prussia. He was the first child of the Reverend Johann Jacob Ebel, the Lutheran minister of the place, by his wife, Louise Wilhelmine, daughter of the municipal councillor, Holdschuhe. True, earnest, simple piety marked the life of his parents, who, though poor as to this world, were rich towards God. The mother, like Mary, had chosen the good part, and like Hannah, had consecrated her first-born to the peculiar service of God, from the moment of his birth. To her early vow, intermingled with the ardent longing of her soul, fed and animated by constant prayer, and to her godly example, and precepts drawn from the Word of God, the world is, under God, indebted for a large share of the pure piety, triumphant faith, and love of the Scriptures, which peculiarly stamped the life and graced the ministry of Johannes, or as we shall call him, of John Ebel.

To this general characterization, we now add some particulars shedding light on the influences that presided over the early life and culture of the child John,

as he was being trained in the nurture and admonition of the Lord. His father was a man of considerable attainments, a good classic and theologian. Though devout and believing, profoundly convinced of the divine origin of Holy Scripture, and the necessity of a holy life, rendered efficacious through intimate personal relation to the Saviour, he was not altogether free from the dominant neological thought of the period at the commencement of his ministry. As he advanced in years, his abandonment of neological views, and adoption of strictly biblical theology became more pronounced. But there is no trace of neological tendency in the pure, translucent piety of the mother, who, early orphaned, and exposed to harsh treatment at the hands of a step-mother, had turned in touching simplicity to the protecting care of the Father in heaven, and was wont to hold all things in Him, and Him in all things. The correspondence of the betrothed gives evidence of the deep piety of both, and shows that their union, so happy through life, began, continued, and ended in God ! The grand principle which those godly parents imprinted in indelible characters on the mind of John was this, that it is our duty *to live on earth for heaven*; that principle was their rule of life, which they applied to everything, and of course, to the education of their children. Family worship at the beginning and close of every day, grace at meals, the solemn celebration of the Lord's Supper on high festivals, belonged to the conduct of a Christian home, in which prayer was the native element. In weal and woe, in seasons of want, which were the rule, and seasons of plenty, which were the exception, their wants and necessities, their joys and griefs, were carried to the throne of grace, and the never-failing providence of God was ever

sought in believing, hopeful trust. Religion was a *reality*, and interpenetrated every, even the most ordinary, part of daily life. Under such influences, augmented by judicious religious instruction and Bible history enforced by direct application, John grew up in the fear of God, and cherished the thought to become a minister. He loved to pray, and early acquired the faculty of committing hymns and making the hymns texts of sermons, which, when he could command no other audience, he would deliver to an imaginary congregation, consisting of dolls, carved for the purpose out of wood.

Naturally endowed with a tender, kind, and sympathetic disposition, the boy was a universal favorite, and when in his seventh year he was sent to school, the shortcomings of fellow pupils, especially when they led to punishment, gave him unspeakable pain. Scrupulous veracity, unselfishness, confidential intercourse with his mother as to all matters relating to his own early troubles and trials and temptations, were some of the engaging traits of the young child. One of the greatest secrets of earthly happiness he learned from intercourse with that sweet and saintly mother, the secret which St. Paul so eloquently commends to the Philippians ; " Rejoice in the Lord always," the joy which is the outcome of personal holiness, and the testimony of a good conscience. That secret, connected with habitual prayer and thanksgiving, which he learned from his mother, he never forsook in after life ; it was perhaps the most distinctive feature of his character and ministry.

The rather primitive school at Passenheim, and private instruction in Latin at home, supplied until his eleventh year the means of his education. In 1795 the even tenor of the good people's life was interrupted by a call to be-

come assistant minister in the Polish congregation at Königsberg, extended to the hard-worked and ill-paid servant of Christ, which, while it brought change, was hardly a promotion, for the emoluments of the position at Königsberg were not better than those connected with that at Passenheim, and keeping the wolf from the door was the ever-pressing concomitant of his sacred office. But the change from quiet Passenheim to busy stirring Königsberg, with its splendid scholastic institutions and famous university, brought sunshine into the mind of John, and his lively imagination fell quickly to work to portray a future of golden prospects. Whatever occurred, occurred for the best ; God sent it all, and every momentary joy, every the least ministration of human kindness, was sent from on high, and viewed as a link in the mysterious chain of providential direction shaping his earthly course for a high and celestial vocation. John was sent to the Latin school of the Altstadt at Königsberg, where he continued, with a brief interruption to be presently narrated, until he entered the university. The master of that school was Hamann, one of the most distinguished educators of the period. It was his plan, in order to become personally acquainted with all the pupils, even the most youthful, to teach every week a few hours in every class. This enabled him not only to study the character and mark the intellectual calibre of every pupil, but also to establish direct personal relations with them. John was an uncommonly bright, quick, studious and conscientious pupil. His record in every class was most enviable ; quick in perception and grasp, diligent and careful in the preparation and pursuit of his lessons, obedient to his teachers, kind and sympathetic to his fellow-pupils, and withal uniformly modest and

pleasant, he was honored with the affection and confidence of the former, and rendered happy by the good will of the latter.

John's great merits had not escaped the penetrating eye of Hamann, who neglected no opportunity to inflame the zeal and fire the ambition of his pupils. One day he came into John's class (the *Tertia*, *i. e.* the third downward), accompanied by a former teacher in the school, who, after passing a brilliant examination at Berlin, had just been appointed military chaplain. Hamann addressed the class and exhorted them to take encouragement from his example to aim at high and noble ends; while speaking he stood near John, and affectionately stroked his cheeks; the former teacher, well acquainted with him, and noticing the caress, said to Hamann, "That boy will never be common."

It is not to be wondered at that John was happy at school. Good, faithful, conscientious, manly and diligent boys always are; unhappy boys at school, with very rare exceptions, are deficient in one or other, in some or more, and occasionally in all the qualities named. John's exemplary conduct bore immediate good fruit; the praise of his teachers, the thankful approbation of his parents, the good will of his fellow-pupils made him glad and contented; the report of his good behavior spread over the town, and the parents of the best scholars sought for them the companionship of so good a boy as John.

The sunny memories of that happy school-life had always a tender place in the heart of Ebel. When many years later he wrote an admirable pamphlet on education,* he alluded to them, and affords us a view of a

* *Die gedeihliche Erziehung*, p. 132 sqq.

happy band of youth of whom he was the spring and centre and motive power. Childhood and youth, to a very large extent, are passed, as far as real enjoyment and pleasure are concerned, almost entirely in the pleasure-lands of imagination. The brightest children have generally the liveliest imagination, and invest the unreal or fictitious with a surprising degree of reality ; they deliberately invent unreal situations, place themselves in them as actors, and derive happiness from the consistency and perseverance with which they sustain their part. Such an ideal, imaginary estate was elaborated by John, for his companion and friends. It was nothing less than a sort of church and state ; the latter, it would seem, reduced to the slender proportions of a provincial municipality ; but there was a church and a school, with a full complement of preachers and masters ; there were services and sermons ; there were lessons and recitations, public examinations conducted by imaginary scholastic functionaries, public debates solemnly argued on Saturday afternoons, and for which an elaborately prepared programme was duly circulated ; prizes were likewise awarded, and commendatory mention was made of peculiarly meritorious pupils. As the young people engaged in the general conduct of these ideal establishments were rather limited in number, our ingenious friend John *manufactured* a very large public in the shape of small wands with carved heads, and the names of the respective functionaries duly inscribed thereon, and he likewise supplied the exchequer with funds in the shape of *stones* of a designated value. The entire commonwealth, embracing ministers and congregations, professors and pupils, the magistracy, the parents and citizens in general, with an ample store of the circulating me-

dium, was divided among the members of the ideal establishment on equitable principles, who persevered in their unquestionably useful and improving work for a considerable period of time.

It has already been intimated that John's father had cherished the thought that he should enter one of the learned professions; he now changed his views on grounds sufficiently striking to justify their consideration. As applied to the learned professions in general, excluding theology, the question was one of means. The slender income of the assistant minister imperatively dictated a diminution, not an increase of expenditure; he could not *afford* the necessary outlay, for he had not got it, and therefore he ruled it wise to convert a consumer into a producer by the most expeditious and remunerative course. He felt convinced that John, so kind, affectionate and unselfish, would certainly be the stay and staff of the younger children if he were once placed in circumstances favoring his natural promptings; and he decided that instead of entering the ministry, he should go to a merchant's office. That was reasonable and judicious enough, but what about *theology*? for that was the secret yearning, the daily prayer of his wife, and that was ever uppermost in the heart and mind of John. Why then did he propose, for propose he certainly did, that what he knew would give pain and sorrow all around? The pecuniary argument did not apply here, for friends and assistance, to say nothing of faith in God, would certainly have been found, as eventually they were found. What then were the reasons, which he, as a clergyman, had to oppose to the darling desire of his wife and of his son? He lived in sad times; he was not only half starved, but he felt in bitterness of soul that

the ministry was scorned and despised, like Christianity itself, by a skeptical, free-thinking, rationalistic but irrational generation. To study theology, to preach Christian doctrine as taught in the New Testament, and to enter the church, were in the public estimate to study, preach and practise *hypocrisy*. This sentiment was so universally held, that the poor assistant minister, who was half starved to death, and had to toil like a slave, felt himself daily and hourly insulted in the thought and speech of his contemporaries. It was a galling thought, and he felt that though such torture and excruciating agony might be borne by him, yet as far as he might be able to prevent it, it should not be endured by his noble, pure, true, sensitive and scrupulously conscientious John, and therefore he told him, "You must not become a minister; it would kill you; the world is too corrupt; and you are too conscientious to submit to the hardships of the ministry." It was a sore trial to them all, when against the wishes of the good mother, against the entreaties of Director Hamann, and against the boy's own deep and invincible yearnings, he was removed from the *Secunda* (the second class) to a merchant's office, and had to study French and Polish in place of the classics. But John was not to be a merchant; the work did not agree with him, he grew sickly and the good assistant minister became convinced that it was an intimation of Providence to cease his opposition to the desire and entreaties of all concerned, and thus he consented to his return to school and the prosecution of his preparatory studies in *Prima* (*i. e.* the highest class).

There Hamann taught almost exclusively. His method was singularly lucid and stimulative, and his influence magnetic. In the class-room, he *taught*, and understood to inspire his pupils with an enthusiastic thirst for knowl-

edge. There was no slavish, mechanical committal of the dull, packed sections and paragraphs of text books, alike suicidal to independent thought and the mastering of a subject, alike injurious to teacher and taught. His method was oral instruction of an uncommonly well-informed, original mind, conveyed in warm, earnest, convincing strains to eager, ambitious students. He urged them to go beyond the prescript curriculum and read conjointly at home selected portions of classical authors, and of German writers. This advice was not neglected by John, who derived great benefit from the judicious and diligent improvement of his spare time.

In his parental home Sunday was kept, neither according to the prevailing spirit of desecration, nor according to the Mosaic literalness of Puritanic sabbath observance. His father recommended and practised a middle course; all *work* proper was rigidly forbidden, *i. e.* all regular work; work belonging to the week days, which included of course school work, was relegated to week-days. First came public worship, and then social intercourse; the two were not treated as incompatibles, but as complementaries; and while social intercourse admitted of pastime and recreation, it allowed likewise private reading or the study of favorite authors; the latter was John's way of filling the leisure hours of the Lord's Day. Gellert's *Moral Prelections*, and J. P. Miller's *Moral Delineations*,* he found peculiarly attractive. Works of a philosophical and religious tone seemed to charm him most. As Hamann's views of Christianity were decidedly negative, and the prevailing sentiment at Königsberg in general, and in the Latin school in particular,

* Schaffhausen, 1779.

ran in the same direction, there was a good deal of religious, or more truly, of irreligious controversy among the pupils. Among them was one who loved to fire the salvos of Voltaire and Rousseau at Christianity, and provoked John, who even then clung to his religious conviction with that intensity of persistence which is almost always allied to natures whom the French call *entier*, to vindicate it from the aspersions he cast upon it. This prompted him to ransack the well-stocked and carefully selected library of his father for apologetic works, and to master their arguments against scoffers and skeptics. Thus he became, at a comparatively early period, familiar *e. g.* with Lilienthal's *Gute Sache*,* and many other thoughtful works, whose persual led him to think and form independent opinions in a field of theological inquiry for which he appeared to be peculiarly fitted, and in which he speedily earned golden laurels. He read fast, and acquired the useful habit of keeping the run of, and acquaintance with new publications, especially periodical literature, to which he devoted his leisure moments at meals. The books he *studied* were of a weighty sort, on topics connected with philosophy and theology ; and as he was wont to take notes and extracts as he went along, every department of human knowledge was made to contribute to his intellectual outfit. At that time his memory was more tenacious of facts, and the true essence of any matter he might have in hand, than of literal technicalities.

Hamann, the head of the Latin School, was the son of a very remarkable man, Johann Georg Hamann, who, from his own *nom de plume*, is known in literature as the

* Königsberg, 1760.

“Magus of the North.” As a writer he is humorous, rather cynical, but all his sentiments are dipped in Christianity ; his philosophy is essentially Christian and biblical. Herder said that “every thought of his is an unstrung pearl, wrapped in the very words without which it could neither have been thought nor spoken.”

The son did not in any way share the religious convictions of his sire, but deemed them foolishness, and had a very reprehensible way of ridiculing and sneering at the dogmas of the Christian verity. His innuendoes, often thrust at John, neither shook his faith, nor weakened the affectionate relations which marked his intercourse with Hamann. When he left school in 1801, the official testimonial, here produced, reflects the opinion which had been formed of him by his teachers : “Johannes Wilhelm Ebel, of Passenheim in Prussia, has been for six years a pupil of this school. Throughout that period he has been continuously diligent and unremittingly devoted to his studies. Having utilized every moment of his time, his progress in scientific knowledge has been so satisfactory, that in the unanimous and commendatory judgment of the officially appointed examiners, he has been found qualified to frequent the free halls of academical learning, it being his intention to study theology. His disposition is so singularly friendly and amiable that we cannot part with him without sorrow ; and we may confidently predict that in this respect he will remain unchanged. Our cordial wishes for prosperity in all his efforts and undertakings accompany him.”

Before following him to the university, the extraordinary diligence and application referred to in the testimonial, need an explanatory word. Besides his regular school duties, he was obliged to supervise and help a

younger brother and several boarders in his father's family, in the preparation of their school exercises. His own statement, made at a subsequent period, sheds light on this matter: "As the child of poor parents, I was compelled, since my fifteenth year, to contribute to my own support by giving private lessons; and after my eighteenth year to assist in the maintenance of my father's family by spending simultaneously with my academical studies, daily, five hours in a public school, as my father's substitute, who on account of sickness, was unable to do the work."

The relations to his fellow-students were most cordial and pleasant. Of a peaceful temperament, he had no quarrels of his own, but was successful in composing those of others. Fond of mirth and harmless pleasures, and averse to exclusiveness, he bore his part in the public social gatherings of the students, who liked his frank and cheerful demeanor. The same diligence and application which had marked his course at school characterized his progress at the university. The circle of his acquaintance was quite extensive, and he enjoyed the esteem and affection of his fellow-students; but he had not found among them a really intimate or truly congenial friend. Nor is this matter of surprise, if we bear in mind the deep, strong religious convictions which colored all his efforts and inspirations, and contrast them with the frivolity and irreligion which animated the academic youth of the period. They simply reflected the prevalent sentiment that religion was hypocrisy, and would often tease him with the jocose inquiry, how he would ever manage to get along as a *priest* (Pfaffe), as he was not cut out for a hypocrite. The contemptuousness of the word *Pfaffe* which they used, does not attach

to the English priest ; it is generally employed with a liberal infusion of envenomed hatred and derision.

Soon after entering the university, John had the great sorrow to lose his good mother after a fortnight's illness. She died as a true Christian. After taking leave of all the rest, she beckoned John to her side, and poured into his ears her deep and intense love ; she told him how it had been the ardent, never-dying yearning of her soul that he should be a minister of the Word ; that that had been her prayer before he was born ; that her husband's opposition had caused her unspeakable pain, and almost made her uncertain as to what might be the will of God in the matter ; but that now everything seemed to point so clearly in one direction, that she felt sure that her prayer would be heard, and that he would not study law, as his father seemed to desire. Then she blessed him, adding in great tenderness: "If all my prayers for you are heard, my child, you will be the happiest of the children of men." Her last words were : "Indeed you will and must needs prosper, for you have caused us nothing but joy." That sainted mother's life-long prayers and dying benediction were ratified on high, for the child of so many prayers grew to become a man of prayer, ever ineffably happy in the love of Christ, and impressing all that knew him with the placid serenity that was mirrored in his mind and life, though storms of trials and tempests of adversity beat upon his soul.

Schulz and Hasse were foremost among the theologians whom John heard. The views of the former were orthodox, *i. e.* biblical, those of the latter neological. While his sympathies went out to the first, he could not withhold his admiration from the straightforward, outspoken frankness and native truthfulness of the second,

and he attended almost all his prelections on the theology, paedagogics and the Oriental languages. Hasse's heterodoxy did not in any way contaminate the strong biblical bias of our young theological student, who very judiciously sought for breadth of view, and toiled and struggled to find the true and trusty foundation of the love of Jesus, in the conflict of philosophical and theological opinions which must often have seemed to him a veritable Babel for confusion and contradiction. He was passing through the great ordeal which was to test the purity, strength and sincerity of his religious convictions. Such an ordeal to true and conscientious minds is harder intellectually and emotionally than the material ordeal of fire and water of which we read in history. There is a crisis in the theological culture of every student when he must form opinions based on the study of the Scriptures, and where the *ipse dixit* of the professor is rarely satisfactory. He must think for himself ; he wants reasons for his belief ; reasons for his convictions ; and the question comes sometimes with irresistible force : Which is stronger ? where are the strongest proofs ? what am I to believe ? am I to follow the promptings of personal inclination ? or must I sacrifice personal inclination to the superior experience of my teacher, and the still higher claims of truth ? And what *is* truth ? In English and American theological seminaries the difficulties are not anything as great as those which beset the path of a student in a German university, where professors of almost every diversity of theological belief or unbelief are at liberty to unfold their respective views, while the students are not compelled to attend the lectures of men all of the same stripe, but at liberty to hear whom they choose. In the midst of such a chaos of conflicting

opinions stood young Ebel, doubtful, hesitating, swayed hither and thither, humble-minded and in danger of losing his self-reliance; eager and strong in long-cherished feelings, and in danger of sacrificing truth to inclination; he weighed and balanced thought with thought, referred what he heard and read to the word of God, and sought for light and direction in habitual intercourse with God in prayer. The possession of the truth, no matter from which quarter it came to him, grasped in faith, held conscientiously and in charity, that was his aim, and in the congenial soil of such an aim rooted the impartiality and conscientiousness which are conspicuous traits of his character.

Thoroughly unsettled on matters where doubt and perplexity mean unhappiness, and where indecision makes confusion worse confounded, Ebel was wondering where the solution might lie—whether after all that good mother's prayers, and her prophetic utterances, after all, and notwithstanding all his own most cherished feelings, it were not wiser and better, whether it were not right for him to abandon theology and turn pedagogue, or whether he should persevere and struggle on, determined to succeed? Just at that critical moment the matter was decided for him in a way which is best given in his own words:

“I was eighteen years old, when I heard a friend of our family state incidentally that he had become acquainted with a man (Johann Heinrich Schönherr) who had successfully established a perfect agreement of the whole Bible, even as to its verbal declarations, by proofs of reason, with a force of conviction simply irresistible, and all but unanswerable by scoffing unbelievers. Like a light from heaven this glorious news shed its gladsome beams into my heart of hearts, and

joy unspeakable took hold of my being. It seemed as if all the dreadful questionings, which rose unbidden, and which I trembled to formulate, were answered, as if all darkness were dispelled, and that a sweet presentiment overcame me, whispering the fulfilment of my deepest longings. From a child brought up in reverence of the word of God, the doubts of its truth and the contradiction of its declarations, vociferously uttered all around me by my teachers and fellow-students, could not fail to disquiet my heart, and to hold it in anxious, painful suspense. When I tried to meet and oppose them, I would, after long and idle contendings, retire to a corner of my attic room, shed bitter tears, and pour out my heart before God, accusing and condemning myself, and bewailing my inability to save His word from defamation, and to vindicate its declarations from the foul aspersions and criticisms of the rationalists. This anxious and agonizing pain were all the greater because I cherished the desire to study theology ; but that darling wish, I felt, must be abandoned, as far as I felt myself unable to grapple with the adversaries, and shrunk from the thought of appearing in the pulpit with the Bible in my hand, and thoughts inimical or conflicting with its truths in my mind—in other words, of preaching in opposition to conviction. . . . In the midst of this soul-struggle, in the midst of fears and longings, that blessed beam brought light. The good news of my friend, that reason and revelation were in agreement, and that the man who had succeeded to establish that agreement, was still in the land of the living.”*

Opportunity for personal acquaintance with Schön-
herr soon occurred in a house which both were in the
habit of visiting. Ebel was at that time a handsome,
thoughtful youth of eighteen ; Schön-
herr a man of thirty-
two. The singular seriousness and devout veneration of

* Ebel *Schlüssel zur Erkenntniss der Wahrheit*, Leipzig, 1837,
p. 1.

Holy Scripture which marked the attitude of Ebel, and singled him out from other students who were wont to ridicule and belittle the inspired volume, did not escape Schönherr. He took a lively interest in Ebel, who listened in profound and respectful attention to the mighty and well nigh wonderful utterance of that noble and richly gifted man. It sometimes happens that intellectual or moral affinities which attract men to each other are accompanied by physical resemblance. This was noticed by one who saw Schönherr and Ebel together, and recorded it many years afterwards in these words :

“ His very features remind me of Schönherr, although Ebel is more handsome, and his carriage and speech exhibit a higher degree of refinement and culture.”

The dualistic principle so emphatically presented by Schönherr, and diametrically opposed to the current ideas on the relation of matter and mind, to the Copernican system, and other prevailing tendencies, startled the young student, and he was far from being in accord with it. Its affinity and consonance with Holy Scripture, as maintained by Schönherr, came not with the force of immediate conviction. On the contrary, he opposed it for years with every weapon which the study of metaphysics, and a certain hardness of believing engendered by it, were able to furnish ; and it was not until after long and earnest resistance that he struggled into a position where, simultaneously with the reception of the Bible as the inspired word of God, he attained the delightful assurance of conviction that there is a way to read and understand that Word, which puts its declarations in perfect harmony with the results of reasonable inquiry and the phenomena of nature.*

* Ebel, *Geschichte des Friedrichs Collegii*, p. 62.

A few words on this subject seem to be in place here; for a fuller account the Appendix B may be consulted.

Prompted by an invincible desire for clear convictions on the subject of immortality, Schönherr, in the course of his studies on the origin of the world, thought he had made the discovery that water is the primary matter and light the formative principle. He read in the Bible that a plurality of Elohim had been engaged in the work of creation, and the thought took shape in his mind that nature is pervaded by two principles in perfect analogy to the biblical Elohim. Two of his friends, in a work published after his death,* declare that he would not have cognized the existence of the two primary Beings in the world of creation from the word "Elohim," or been able to develop the thought and doctrine of the creation of the world by their eternal, uncreated and imperishable existence, if the spirit of Truth had not first led him to the study of nature, and allowed him to see there—at first darkly, indistinctly, and, as it were, from a distance—what Holy Scripture teaches in the history of creation. Like St. Paul, he took hints for the knowledge of God from what he saw in the works of creation, and rose from nature to nature's God. It was a revelation that filled him with joy unspeakably grateful. "Creation," he said, "is a sealed book; the Bible breaks the seal. Who does not understand the Bible, does not understand creation; not because he *cannot* find within and round about himself the truths taught in the Bible, but because he has not yet *found* them there. And does

* *Johann Heinrich Schönherr und die von ihm erkannte Wahrheit*, Königsberg, 1834, part I. p. 29, sqq.

this not hold good of all knowledge? We have only *words* as long as reason and experience have not enabled us to know and understand the objects they designate. You may tell one that has never seen the light much of its nature and properties; he hears what you tell him, and remembers the words, *but he does not know the light.*”*

Moreover, he took note that while the Bible does not mention the *creation* of water, it seems to intimate that it is the primary matter in 2 Pet. iii. 5: “For this they willingly are ignorant of, that by the word of God the heavens were of old, and the earth consisting out of water, and in water.” In the history of the creation, we read that “the Spirit of God was moving upon the face of the waters.” He held firmly that Moses preached *one* God; but Moses names *Elohim*, and alternately employs the words *Elohim* and *Jehovah*; that, he thought must have a reason and a design. The concept of God was to him a concept of correlation, according to which he thought of God as the Supreme, the Most High, Most Mighty, Most Wise Being, and felt constrained—unless he should speculate beyond what Scripture declares on the subject—to regard Him not as the *Sole* Original, Primary Being, without whom there never existed anything at any time, but biblically, as the Supreme, Primary Being, as the *Jehovah* of the *Elohim*. God is to him the only Almighty God, Creator of all things; but, he opined, if there had never been another Being beside Himself, not anything would ever have come into being; he took umbrage at the notion of a creation out of nothing, and deemed it absurd; and if that notion were meant

* Schönherr, *Sieg der Götlichen Offenbarung*, p. 4.

to express that the creation was the effect of the almighty will of God, that would make it unsubstantial and contrary to all experience, which coincides with the biblical representation of God always working by means. He thought, with others since his day, that it is a senile prejudice to reduce the creation to a *single* principle, and unwarranted temerity to leave the discovered traces of the Bible. Neither the fiction that Elohim designates the sacred Trinity, nor the makeshift of its being a *pluralis majestaticus** deterred Schönher from stoutly maintaining that Elohim must be more than Eloah; that a plural *form* must originally have been connected with a *plurality of persons*, and that the Elohim designates a real plurality.

It is proper to emphasize here that it was not Schönher's dualism, but his reception of the Bible as the word of God, which attracted Ebel; that he made very clear in later years, when under the imputation of sectarian tendencies he was the subject of an almost unparalleled wicked persecution, and declared *ad acta*: "I confess from the bottom of my heart, that I value Schönher's theory, solely because it appears to me to have greater biblical authority, as far as man can determine it, than other theories. If it does not agree with the Bible, I am still prepared to fling it aside as trash."

It was a curious age, that age of enlightenment, in which the shape of man's coat, or the cut and length of his beard, were regarded as essentials of respectability

* Ewald, *Hebr. Grammar*, § 361, denies that the Hebrew language has any feeling for a so-called *pluralis majestaticus*, and accounts for the plural form of *Elohim*, because, according to the conception of the ancients, the Deity was thought as infinitely numerous, and divisible, and yet conjoined.

and even of orthodoxy. Poor Schönherr liked to wear a long coat, and his medical adviser had recommended him to let his hair and beard grow long. That was enough to the men of his generation to deprive him of both respectability and orthodoxy ; but then the official (*i. e.* secular) orthodox belief of the period was rank infidelity, and hatred of religion and morality, and thus it came to pass, that to walk with Schönherr in the streets of Königsberg, was a stone of stumbling, and a rock of offence. Schönherr was peculiar, one-sided, rode hobbies ; but are we not all peculiar, more or less one-sided, and do not we ride hobbies ? Yet he was through and through a good man and true, singularly gifted, and an enthusiast, vastly superior to many other enthusiasts, clean-shaven and long-bearded, in costume Oriental or Occidental. And Ebel was not the man to take umbrage at such trifles, and he stuck to his friend. And his friend he was, and remained, and proved it on many occasions, but chiefly in telling him the truth. As Schönherr never founded a *sect*, neither Ebel, nor others who adopted *some* of his views, and held them as private, could be called his followers or adherents ; if that were so, a many-sided man, or a man of great and varied culture, who adopts all sorts of views from all sorts of people might be accused of almost every heresy under heaven, and of being tinged with the most contradictory sectarian tendencies ; if heresy and sect-hunting were carried on in the spirit which forty years ago existed in Prussia, many a prelate might tremble in his shoes, many a professor would be cashiered, many a priest would be unfrocked.

At this early period Ebel regarded Schönherr as a great benefactor, in having helped him out of the dark-

ness of doubt and perplexity into the sunlight of undimmed, childlike faith in the word of God. In the principle of the two primary Beings he saw a key to the proper understanding of nature and revelation ; a key, not of magnetic virtue, so that at its approach all locks must open spontaneously, but a key of the ordinary sort, requiring careful fitting and careful handling, and beyond that he really never went with Schönherr, to whom he always felt grateful for that early guidance at a most critical period of his life. That principle enabled Ebel to solve to himself the imystery—for it is truly a mystery or a secret disclosed—of human freedom, which he felt cannot be explained on any other basis so as to meet the statements of Holy Scripture and convince the understanding ; it enabled him to see man under the influence of two powers ; it enabled him, likewise, better to understand the biblical dogma of the devil ; to form a lofty, true and delightful conception of the truths of salvation, of the lofty position of man, of his high and glorious destiny, and of the establishment of the kingdom of heaven, all of which were treated at the time as idle imaginings, allegorized into poetic myths or explained away by methods of interpretation often as contemptible in the interpreters as they were insulting to hearers and readers alike. But Ebel was fortified by Schönherr in his strong biblical bias to accept the verbal inspiration of the Bible ; and how Schönherr reasoned and expressed himself, and how his impassioned utterances must have delighted the ears and rejoiced the heart of the ardent youth the reader may judge of from a few samples gathered at random from his writings and placed in Appendix B.

In the meantime the meeting with Schönherr decided

his course ; thenceforth theology was to be his study, and to win souls for Christ and work towards the setting up of Christ's kingdom his prayerful vocation. For that he was indebted to the friendship of Schönherr ; but it was a friendship that had much to try him, as the sequel will show.

CHAPTER II.

EARLY MINISTRY.

EBEL passed the examination of candidate in theology before the theological faculty at Königsberg in 1804, and according to usage, began what may be called his novitiate as collaborator or assistant in a school, under the direction of Dr. Hamann, to which he was preferred through the interest and influence of his old master. Familiar intercourse with experienced and able educators proved highly beneficial to the young candidate, quick and apt to turn his opportunities to good account. Besides certain secular branches, he was specially charged with the religious instruction of the whole school from Secunda downwards. His relations to the other teachers were very cordial, and to the pupils singularly delightful ; he knew the secret of commanding their affections, and the religious recitations, as a rule the least affected in gymnasia, were the most popular in the school. This speaks volumes for the tact and heart of a teacher able to establish such happy relations to his pupils, for it points unmistakably to sincere and warm feelings on his part, which youth is ever ready to reciprocate. They loved him, and therefore strove to please him in every way, and it is touching to read that two or three me-

mentos of trifling value, presented to him by his pupils, were unspeakably precious to him even in old age, when he would feelingly point to a pocket-book, an album, and a small goblet, inscribed with the words, "in token of grateful love." The secret of his success as a teacher of religion may be expressed in a single sentence, "cheerfulness and godliness." He believed more in the force of example than in the force of precept; uniformly cheerful himself, kind, sympathetic, and averse to sacerdotal language, he understood to convince his youthful friends that the cheerfulness which springs from a heart aglow with the love of God and a good conscience is not only compatible with sincere piety and holiness, but its necessary concomitant. His views on this subject are truly admirable, and may be read at length in a volume which bears the title, "*Ueber gedeihliche Erziehung*," Hamburg, 1825, from which I select the following passage as applicable now as it was half a century ago. His topic is godly cheerfulness as the true means of inculcating piety in the heart of youth, and its example as the best way to accomplish it; he says:

"How different would the world be, if teachers were to deal with their dear children in this spirit. We should not see the pious contortions of countenance, religious curvatures and holy inclinations, or hear the devout groans of a class of people who think that they render God service in the outward show of repentance, and who though under the care of the heavenly Physician appear like sickly invalids all the days of their life. How much more profitable for all to know that as a judicious earthly physician likes nothing better in his patients than a cheerful look, provided they do not overdo it, so the heavenly Physician loves cheerful courage in His

patients, and welcomes it as the fit concomitant of His grace, whereas intentional dejectedness invariably cometh of evil. Then the voice of joy and the voice of gladsome praise would again go out into all the world (Jer. xxxi. 12, 13; xxiii. 11, 12); young men and old would rejoice together before their God; and the world would not be ashamed to blend its song with the birds', as they sing among the branches, as a tribute of praise for the glories of creation offered to the author of gladness and joy. No one would take umbrage if people of culture conversed as freely on things divine as they discuss human affairs; there would be no more heresy-mongers, to scent prayer-meetings and new sects in the harmless and free interchange of thought among sensible men—and the whole course of our life would be bathed in the sunlight of a higher world!"

The last sentence has fortunately no such meaning here, as that which it had to its author and his readers; it came from the depths of a noble soul, stung and wounded, persecuted and hunted down by just such heresy-mongers.

In the following year (1805) the school-work, so pleasant and congenial, had to undergo certain modifications necessitated by new duties, en chaining many advantages and grave responsibilities. It came about as follows. Count Dohna-Schlodien had two sons whom he wished to place under proper supervision at the university. There were difficulties to find a suitable tutor, and young Ebel, a little more than twenty, was so strongly recommended to the Count that he put them under his care. As his new duties required him to accompany the young counts to the university and hear the lectures they attended, it was of course impossible for him to continue his work at the Altstadt-School, and he prepared the way for separation by restricting

his attendance to a few hours. The care of the young counts was certainly not a sinecure ; their first education had been at a school conducted by the Moravian brothers at Uist. Their peculiar system of narrow, straight-laced and rigorous religious formalism was not calculated to benefit youth, who were kept in strict exclusiveness, and taught that worldly pleasure of every kind was wicked ; outwardly they had all to be saints, but inwardly they detested saintliness and longed for freedom, and for that self-same world they were supposed to have abjured. The elder brother, in particular, confounding the peculiar notions of the Uist brotherhood with Christianity, formed a positive aversion to it and all religion. From the strict exclusiveness of Uist their father removed them to Dresden, where they studied in private, and enjoyed almost unbounded license. The transition from one extreme to another was a great mistake, and led to consequences which rendered a middle course matter of absolute necessity. For that the expedient was adopted of placing the young men under Ebel's care ; a momentous and difficult position under all circumstances, but peculiarly so, when respect is had to the circumstance that Ebel was only by one year the senior of the elder, and by two of the younger of the brothers. But a better and more judicious choice could hardly have been made ; for it has already been shown that Ebel was through and through unostentatiously devout, firm, judicious, and affectionate. His plan was to treat them as equals, and to appeal to their best instincts rather by the force of example than by magisterial precepts, which the peculiar sensitiveness of his pupils would have resented. He consulted them as to the most advantageous use of their time ; they agreed

upon the adoption of a scheme of work, readily fell in with their tutor's suggestion to read the classics, and as he set them the example of regularity and understood to win their confidence, esteem and affection, the method was crowned with success. There still remained the question of companionship, not so easily regulated at a university; of nearly the same age and attending the same lectures, their companions were his, and as he established friendly relations with them, the whole bent and direction of their social life ran in proper channels. Young men of about twenty years of age feel tutelage of any sort irksome; it was the tutor's part to keep a watchful eye over their movements, and as anything like espionage was, of course, utterly out of the question, Ebel put them on their honor, and tried to get their confidence by giving them his. He would tell them where he went, when he had occasion to leave the house, that they might know where to find him; and that, of course, prompted similar frankness on their part, more in the case of the younger, however, than in that of the elder.* As to him it may be here stated, that he told Ebel on leaving the university, that before his acquaintance with him he had regarded all persons professing religious principles as hypocrites, but that he was the first to convince him of the error of his hasty judgment.

* The younger fell in the war of 1813; he was one of the three, whose death is commemorated in Max von Schenkendorf's poem "The three Counts." His father, in a letter to Ebel, on that sorrowful providence, touchingly narrates how the young hero during the armistice made his servant read the Bible, which he tried to the best of his ability to explain and commend to him. The tutor's teaching had not been forgotten.

This tutorship brought many advantages to the young candidate; its emoluments rid him of care and enabled him to buy books; the frequenting of lectures on branches of science with which he had not any previous or only imperfect acquaintance, *e.g.* Political Economy, Physics, and especially Metaphysics, expanded his culture and brought him in contact with the most distinguished professors. Peculiarly beneficial were the philosophical prelections of Krug (the successor of Kant); and his excellent advice subjecting all philosophical or similar systems to unprejudiced and calm examination he sought to follow throughout life.* It was at the instance of Krug that the university of Leipzig conferred on Ebel the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, in 1810.

Moreover, the excellent connections of the young counts gave him the *entrée* into the best society at Königsberg; and his affability, gentleness and modesty, his conversational facility, and aptness to learn and readiness of adaptation stood him in good stead; familiarity with the forms of polite intercourse added a new element to his many-sidedness, and frequent participation in festive gatherings and amusements, as well as occasional visits to the theatre taught him to form a proper estimate of the advantages and disadvantages of social life. Thoroughly at his ease and at home in society, he early learned to prefer the intercourse of a few chosen and congenial companions to that of the great multitude.

There was at Königsberg at that time an æsthetical club, a rather heterogeneous sort of a body, composed of persons representing the utmost variety of vocations, but occupying common ground in the then comparatively

* His own statement in the History of Frederic College.

new field of *Æsthetics*. Among them were students, poets, and even actors. Max von Schenkendorf belonged to it, and so did Ebel. His influence was excellent, and the relation a pleasing one. Of this there is written testimony, showing likewise his peculiar aptitude to turn the aspirations of others to high and holy ends. One wrote thus : "I live in you with all my soul. You are so truly devout and childlike. Would I could be like you ! I am struggling and striving without avail. But in thought I am with you, and it is my holiest endeavor to follow the Good and live in God.—I stood in need of your manly gentleness, for though all are manly, they are not gentle, except G., who is gentle but not manly." Another with whom he corresponded wrote : "I have fought in these days many a hard battle. My senses, ever prompting me to earthly pleasures, give me much trouble. I read the Bible, and acquire strength. And to whom am I indebted for all this ? To you, the man with a pure heart ; you spoke out of its fulness and filled mine. Accept my sincere and unfeigned thanks. The few hours spent with you have borne fruit a thousand-fold. But enough, you know what I mean."

Among his acquaintance at that time we must not forget the name of Borowski, an excellent clergyman, whose sermons he loved to hear. He invited him to fill his pulpit, and advised him to commit his sermons after writing them, for in Germany the use of manuscript in the pulpit is almost unknown. Ebel had no aptitude that way ; his plan was to make thorough preparation, to master his subject, feel it through and through, and depend for *expression* on the inspiration of the moment. The vivacity of his mind and his fresh creative faculty forbade slavish committal. Borowski, who heard his first

sermon, and thought he had committed it, complimented him on its delivery. To that practice he uniformly adhered, and his older friend felt perfectly satisfied with the result during the two years that he heard the candidate. Their intercourse was pleasant, edifying, and instructive. Borowski was a well-informed theologian and had an excellent library ; both his information and literary possessions were available to Ebel. Schönherr's views were known to him, for he belonged to his congregation, and, like other tendencies in philosophy and theology, formed part of their conversation. He loved Ebel as if he had been his own son, and honored him in various ways ; *e. g.*, he assigned to him the morning sermon and chose the afternoon for himself, although the morning congregation was much the larger and attended by the communicants, and gave him *carte blanche* in the selection of preachers among the candidates. "I leave it all to you," he wrote on one occasion, "for I know you to be cautious, and how studiously you care both for the congregation and myself. You may be sure that I shall always gratefully acknowledge the blessed conduct of your work, and that my warmest prayers will follow you when you go to pasture your own flock." And after he left Königsberg, Borowski wrote : "You have not only been my friend, but the kind provider of my pulpit and congregation. Where shall I find another Ebel, one that knows all the candidates, speaks kindly of them, and enables me to choose a proper substitute ?" He calls him his dear son, brother, and friend.

Towards the close of 1806, Count Dohna, the father of his pupils, offered Ebel the vacant position of pastor at Hermsdorf, on his estates ; he thought himself altogether too young to accept so honorable and responsible

a position, and declined it on the ground of his youth. But the Count insisted, and urged him to visit the church and conduct a service, representing that the effect of his sermon might perhaps contain a divine intimation as to what was his duty in the matter. So he went and did as he had been bidden, with the result that the congregation begged the Count to send them no other preachers, but to appoint Ebel. Under this pressure he felt bound to cease all opposition in the matter. He deemed it passing strange, when he saw the church and the country for the first time, that all appeared singularly familiar to him, and he recollects to have seen in a dream, a year before, the very church to which he was called. So the Count sent him his call in these words: "Here, my dearest Ebel, is the vocation which God, the Lord and Father of us all, sends you by my humble hand."

When he left Königsberg, so dear to him, he was honored with a letter from the Magistrate, dated December 2, 1806, in which his past services are gratefully and highly commended, accompanied by the assurance of sincere interest in his advantageous preferment.

Before entering on the active work of the sacred ministry his conscience prompted him to take a step which gave him ever afterwards the profoundest satisfaction, and placed him superior to any possible imputation of his honor. When he presented himself before the Consistory to take the prescribed oath on the Augsburg Confession, he asked the Council to tell him the sense in which the oath was to be construed? Did the Consistory make the symbolical books or the word of God the final arbiter? With one exception, it was the unhesitating decision of the Council that *quatenus* not *quid* was self-evident. What Ebel had in his mind was the doctrine of the king-

dom of God upon earth, which the Reformers had confounded with the errors of the Jews on that subject, and accordingly rejected in Article XVII. of the Augsburg Confession; a doctrine regarded by many of the older and modern theologians (among the latter, *e. g.*, Spener and Bengel) as founded on Holy Scripture. Ebel wanted to know whether the Consistory accorded to him the liberty of regarding the authority of the Bible superior to that of a symbolical book, so that his conscience might not be bound by something he did not agree with.

The ordination of Ebel took place, November 23, 1806, in the Castle Church, at Königsberg, in the presence of the Prussian princes; the Rev. Dr. Hennig officiated on the occasion, and preached a sermon on Matt. xxiv. 35: "Heaven and earth shall pass away, but my words shall not pass away."

His induction or institution had to be postponed until the following summer, and took place in the midst of the noisy clamor created by inimical troops on their return from Friedland.

Although his friends and relations advised delay, Ebel deemed it his duty to set out, January 7, 1807, for his parish, situated in a section of the country on the Passe, which was at the time exposed to an invasion of the French, who had devastated the village, and actually pillaged the parsonage before he crossed the threshold. His furniture, which for the most part had been obtained on credit, was carried away, and the most precious of his possessions, his library, still on the road, was lost in the sack of Braunsberg. Those books, acquired under great difficulties, and often at the expense of other necessaries, were unspeakably dear to him, and their loss caused him much pain: still he felt that it was a providential di-

rection designed to warn him against the danger of buying too many books, to which thirst of knowledge was tempting him. But God had provided for him in some other way : in a wing of the castle, where he took up his abode, he found a well stocked library of choice works, which had been the property of the late Pastor Trescho, the teacher of Herder, and come into the possession of the Count. To that he had free access, and in it he found a large collection of very valuable works, especially many on old theology, and rare standard authors. As his parsonage at Hermsdorf was unfit for occupation, he had at Count Dohna's instance taken quarters at Schlodien, from where he served not only his own parish, but two others besides, the pastor in the one being laid up with sickness, and that of the other having fled. Concerning this interesting period of Ebel's ministry, the material is rather scant in the shape of notices furnished by himself. What he said on the subject is exceedingly fragmentary. In one place he briefly states that though the war played havoc with his temporal affairs, it yielded him many a useful experience for life. That he could have written highly interesting reminiscences was well known to those of his acquaintance, with whom he occasionally conversed on the matter. But his own shortcomings in that respect have been supplied by others.

The French were scattered throughout that section of country in large numbers ; the Prussians and Russians were close by ; and sanguinary conflicts were of constant occurrence. A friend of Ebel, Baron Ernst von Heyking, who for the purpose of writing his biography, collected and carefully drew up notices and letters, which have been kindly forwarded to me by Miss Adalberta Ebel, the surviving daughter of the subject of this book,

narrated that he told him how strangely he felt when he saw for the first time a body of French, drawn up with loaded muskets in front of the Castle of Schlodien. They were chasseurs whose sudden appearance filled Count Dohna, his family, and the whole population with terror. Besides the Baron, Ebel was the only person sufficiently versed in French to open negotiations with the enemy. His first duty was to provide for their entertainment, which was very liberal, but the haughty soldiery deliberately dashed the filled bottles of wine to the ground as an expressive intimation that they were the victors, and might act as they pleased. The camp of the army of occupation was only a few miles distant ; and the Count sent there to procure a safe-guard, whose presence it was thought would prevent acts of violence, and inspired all Schlodien with confidence. An event, however, which happened shortly after their arrival, showed how very fallacious was that imagined safety. One day there arrived suddenly a Prussian officer at the head of a small detachment of Prussian soldiers, with five Cossacks (Russians). They rushed into the castle, passed like a whirlwind through every room, until they found the Count, whom the officer accused of sympathy with the French, and of concealing French soldiers. Ebel interposed and succeeded in bringing the infuriated soldiers to reason, and preventing personal injury to the Count. Meanwhile the safe-guard, attempting to escape through the windows of the castle, were caught by the Cossacks, and carried away as prisoners. The Prussians likewise seized two French horses as spoils of war. Nobody doubted that the French would retaliate, take the Count prisoner, and set fire to Schlodien. In this difficult and perilous situation, Ebel advised the Count to escape

with his family, and offered to remain for the protection of the property and the safety of the people. The offer was gratefully accepted.

Meanwhile the Prussian officer had been wounded in an engagement and made prisoner awaiting transportation to France, and the immediate consequence of the Prussian surprise of the French safe-guard was the arrival from the camp of a captain with a squadron of horse, roughly inquiring for the Count. Ebel told him exactly everything as it had occurred, and that the Count, deeming the safety of himself and his family imperiled after the safe-guard had been taken prisoners, had left for a more distant place of safety. In that way he corrected the misapprehension of the French as to a preconcerted collusion, and proved to them that there had been no intentional injury or offence on the part of the Count. He likewise tried to pacify the captain by offering him four picked, fine horses from the Count's stables as an indemnity for the two missing ones. While this negotiation was going on within, the soldiers without began to exhibit tokens of displeasure that they were not allowed to plunder, and that their captain was incessantly talking with the *petit abbé*, as they called Ebel. The latter, aware that the Prussians were drawing near, tried everything in his power to protract the negotiation as much as possible, and finally succeeded in reaching an understanding with the captain, who was also aware of the approach of the Prussians, to this effect, that in the absence of Count Dohna he would consent, as his representative, to accompany him to camp, for the captain's instructions were to produce the Count at headquarters before the general in command. So he prepared to visit the hostile camp as hostage, after taking the precaution of ordering a goodly

assortment of choice wines and groceries to be stowed away in his sleigh, in which he left with an escort of six French soldiers. The present had a mollifying influence on the general (who had a weakness for mulled wine and was rejoiced to get his favorite beverage in so unexpected a manner), and Ebel, who presented the whole affair frankly and without fear, succeeded in averting the threatened revenge from the Count's possessions. Just as he was leaving the camp, a French lieutenant, who had been very pleasant when he saw him before at the castle, thrust a paper into his hand. He took it without reading it at the time, but discovered on the road that it was a passport. He had hardly read it when he heard, in shrill accents, the words, *Qui vit?* uttered by a French sentry, and realized the danger from which God, through the instrumentality of that lieutenant, had delivered him. He met quite a number of such sentries, who invariably required the production of the passport before they allowed him to proceed. At last he reached Schlodien safe and sound, and hastened to the neighboring village, whither the Count and the Countess had fled, to be welcomed by them with tears of joy.

His visit as hostage to the French camp is only a sample of the great difficulties of his position during the passage of the French to and from Prussian Eylau and their winter quarters, and his voluntary exposure to so much danger for Count Dohna was, of course, prompted solely by sincere affection. Whoever came to Schlodien, friend or foe, transacted their business with him; his youth notwithstanding, everybody sought him for counsel in unexpected and difficult emergencies, and he proved equal to every occasion. Understanding to touch the enemy on the point of honor, and using his influence

with the embittered population to prevent haste in word or deed, he frequently averted plunder and mutiny from Schlodien and the neighborhood, delivered the poor from the hands of marauders, helped them, often with peril to himself, to recover what had been stolen from them, when he saw, for instance, how some, whom the French had deprived of their last cow, on which they depended for life, would rush on their bayonets to repossess themselves of their property.

He himself was on one occasion in imminent peril. A French marauder came one day with all sorts of unreasonable demands, which could not be granted, and were in part refused by the safe-guard stationed at Schlodien. Infuriated at the refusal and meditating revenge, the marauder insisted that Ebel should go with him to the Colonel. Without suspecting any evil design, he agreed to the proposal, and was on the point of leaving, when the safe-guard coming along and understanding the danger, peremptorily ordered the marauder to take his instant departure on pain of being shot. That made him go, and Ebel learned from the safe-guard, that had he accompanied the marauder he would without fail have murdered him.

Through his instrumentality, access to the castle and and its dependent buildings was rendered difficult if not impossible, to the stragglers of the army, noted alike for cupidity and destructiveness. He caused the first house in the village to be fitted up as a sort of free inn, where refreshments, solid and liquid, were always kept ready for any that might call, and as the village lies on one side of the stream and the castle on the other, the hospitable cheer of the traveller's home was so judiciously administered that the stragglers continued their

journey without crossing the bridge, to their own satisfaction and to the unspeakable relief of the sorely tried inhabitants of the Castle. The winter quarters likewise led to many difficult complications, which Ebel would often straighten, and his influence with the enemy was so great that he actually induced a general to restore to another Count Dohna the family plate, which during the winter quarters, having been discovered by the enemy in a place of safe keeping within a solid wall, had been taken.

How the Dohnas would ever have fared without the good pastor, so energetic, judicious, kind and self-sacrificing, we cannot conjecture ; that the castle would have been sacked and burned, and they reduced to beggary cannot be doubted by any one familiar with the incidents of the war of Napoleon in Germany. Ebel proved a veritable Joseph to them and that whole countryside. When Count Dohna transmitted to Ebel his call, he wrote :

“Look at your vocation, dear Christian brother. You are invited to be a preacher of peace in the fires of war and the furnace of tribulation, whose lurid flames already shed their light on our path, and to stay at your post. This requires steadfastness, and perhaps more resolution than to fly to arms in defence of our native land ; therefore put on the whole armor of God, etc.”

And after he had left Hermsdorf for another sphere of labor he gratefully said :

“We shall never forget you and 1807, no more than we can forget to thank God for all His undeserved blessings when He deems it meet to deprive us of some great happy-

ness." . . . "I can never, my ever grateful heart can never forget, what a blessing you were to our family and people and countryside; we have indeed great cause to remember that blessing before God, even as the godly Nehemiah, in a right filial spirit, did it for himself: 'Think upon me, my God, for good, according to all that I have done for this people.' (Neh. v. 19). But enough of this in words."

On the occasion of a vacancy on the estates of Count Dohna, writing to Ebel for the purpose of recommending a fit person, the good Count used this language:

"We turn to you, reverend friend, for a helper in war that may resemble you as much as possible. I know that it will be hard to find such an one, unless God directs us in our choice, . . . and my reason for addressing you in this matter is simply this: since God did grant us this blessing before we had asked Him for it, we trust that He will do it again now that we ask Him, and especially through your good offices, . . . and these our parishes could hail no messenger with greater joy than one recommended and sent by their dear Mr. *Ebelchen*."

The italicized word is an untranslatable diminutive of endearment, used by the parishioners in token of affection for their good pastor, who during the war was wont to go in and out among them as a brother and friend without the restraints of official intercourse.

In the midst of the confusion and turmoil of war, Ebel, having lost his own team, was obliged to serve three parishes, for nearly a year on foot; a hard and laborious work, when it is remembered that the distances were very considerable. At last he succeeded in buying a captured war-horse, which carried him daily on his round of official duty. He would often dispense with the official

garments when he gathered the people in some barn for service, because the church edifice happened to be filled with the enemy's material of war. There he would stand in their midst with words of consolation and encouragement, and exhortations to fortitude, patience and submission. Thus the relations to his flock were cemented in love ; and the love that went out from him, returned in tender and touching attachment. Some of the incidents of that period clearly show, what some are so loth to admit, that after all there is in human nature an undertone of veneration for things divine, which even the violence and brutality of war are unable to quench. Those hordes of Napoleon, which swept with the besom of destruction over Europe, were brought up under influences, terrible to contemplate. They came from a country where Christianity had been officially abolished, and religion was ridiculed as a silly superstition, and yet their hearts were not wholly dead to the influence of religion, not wholly without respect for its ordinances. One day Ebel performed a baptism in a church, which the French had converted into a barrack ; they were drilling at the time, and when in the course of the service he came to the Lord's Prayer, the rude soldiery, in token of respect, presented arms while it was being offered. He had often opportunity to converse with French officers on serious themes, and he was amazed to find some, who, in spite of their dreadful trade and horrid education, were thoughtful and devout, waiting for the kingdom of God, and viewing the events of the period as signs and tokens of an approaching better time, and preparing the hearts of men for a more cheerful and willing reception of the truths of salvation.

Decades later, Ebel would love to give expression to

the confident and joyous expectation of meeting some of those French officers before the throne of God.

The tempest of war had spent its fury in that part of Germany, when at the close of 1807, the enemy left the neighborhood of Schlodien and the Passarge. The exciting and tumultuous scenes of the occupation no longer distracted the mind and interfered with the work of the young minister. He had now the time, as he always had the inclination, to attend more thoroughly to the culture of his own soul. From a child it had been his delightful occupation to hearken to what God might reveal to him in his conscience, and to hold sweet converse with Him in prayer, and the anxieties and trials of the eventful time through which he had just passed, had deepened and intensified his piety and habitual intercourse with God, and recourse to Him for light, and direction. The beautiful old hymn: *Jesus, meine Liebe, lebet*, had yielded him sweet comfort, use and direction under the calamities of war when he was exposed to bodily danger; now that that kind of danger and trial belonged happily to the past, the same hymn became unspeakably precious to him in the spiritual comfort it gave, and the blessed instruction it imparted. It is certainly a most beautiful hymn, so rich and weighty, but withal so full of felicitous turns, which are sure to be spoiled in the translation, that I can only deplore my inability to give it in English dress. But for the benefit of readers familiar with German, a place has been made for the original in Appendix C. That hymn had a wonderful hold on his heart and mind; it filled them day and night. No one may tell, because no one can know, what then transpired in the secret chambers of Ebel's heart, but we know that it was a momentous crisis in the history of his spiritual

life. It seems to have been that turning point in the spiritual life of man, which for want of a better term, may be called the antithesis or opposition of the human and the divine. Some theologians call it conversion, others regeneration ; but it is not a question of theology at all, it is purely one of personal feeling and experience ; nor is it necessary to *urge* its expression, for where it does exist, it is sure to express itself in the practice of Christian virtues and graces, in unostentatious holiness ; it is a state of the soul in which the consciousness of unworthiness and of inability to conquer innate sinful propensities rise against the high ends of the Christian vocation ; a state in which we cry out for help and light, write bitter things against ourselves, and struggle for a higher plane of life, in which God is everything and we are nothing, in which grace accomplishes what native strength is unable to achieve, in which we fling aside every notion of self-righteousness, and feel irresistibly impelled by the Divine Spirit to count all things but loss that we may win Christ, and learn in the school of Christ to advance from strength to strength, to the triumphant faith of St. Paul, which made him exclaim : "I can do all things through Christ that strengtheneth us."

Through that crisis Ebel appears to have passed immediately after the war, and he came out of the great struggle more thoroughly equipped for a ministry of self-sacrifice, devotion and personal holiness, more enthusiastically consecrated to the service of God.

Although profoundly convinced of the reality of Divine grace in his own soul, and ineffably happy in the consciousness thereof, Ebel never urged or insisted that the work of grace must manifest itself in the same way in others. His knowledge of human nature, his knowl-

edge of the wonderful and various workings of the manifold grace of God, and his strong, good common sense, prevented him from falling into such an error. For error it is, and a mischievous one, to induce others to express that which possibly they do not feel ; or to describe as an operation of the Divine Spirit what, after all, happens frequently to be only a transient emotion, not a permanent change of direction and disposition. Ebel's course, in this respect, appears to have been singularly judicious ; he trembled to demand in others what he felt he had no *right* to demand, or to map out or indicate the way in which grace *must* operate ; he left all that in the hands of God, who in His several dealings with men could renew what was decayed, when and where it might seem to Him good. Not that he did not insist upon the necessity of growth in grace, but that he felt that the progress to perfection must be mainly the work of God in the renovation of our spiritual nature, and a corresponding, incessant, and faithful responsibility on our part. That awakening and state of heart our Lord and His apostles appear to designate in the use of the word *perfect* (cf. St. Matt. v., Phil. iii., Col. i.), and as to the passage : "Be ye therefore perfect, even as your Father which is in Heaven is perfect," he admitted it in its full and pregnant sense of importing continuous growth and development, to the exclusion of everything that savoured of self-sufficiency. He held that Scripture teaches what the older theologians, *e. g.* Rieger,* tersely lay down :

"A whole Christian cannot always remain a *dwarf* or a *babe* ; he must grow and expand into maturity, into proper age, measure, and stature ; from being a disciple he must

* *Sermons*, pp. 654, 657, sq.

become perfect as his Master (St. Luke, vi. 40), or St. Matt. v. 48, has it still more explicitly : ‘ Be ye therefore perfect, even as your Father which is in heaven is perfect.’ Now he is perfect who has all the requisite qualifications of the Christian character. He that has some virtues, but not all, is not a true Christian, but an anomaly and a cripple.” “What would it avail if some one thinks that his inner man, his heart and soul, belong to God, but that his body in its senses and members, is subject to sin ? Or, reversing the case, what does it avail a man to turn his outward life, his eyes, his speech, and his works in the direction of what is good, while his mind is alienated from God, and addicted to sinful and unholy pleasures and pursuits ? Perhaps some one will say, *How is this possible ?* Who could be a Christian in such a case ? Who is able to attain a degree of perfection in which he is deficient in nothing ? Perfection belongs to life eternal. Well, I answer, that no one is justified in murmuring against the will and purpose of God, which only contemplates our full restoration from the fall. Do we not prefer in the lower stage of physical existence a whole man to a cripple ? But care must be had to distinguish between things that differ. It is emphatically the purpose of Gospel teaching to conduct the souls of men to the proper measure of perfect manhood (Eph. iv. 13, in the Greek) ; and St. Paul accordingly not only desired his hearers to attain to perfection, not only exhorted them to be perfect, but he strove with all his might to conduct them to perfection, saying : ‘ Whom we preach, warning every man, and teaching every man in all wisdom that he may present every man perfect in Christ.’ ” (Col. i. 28, 29).

That is Ebel’s view of perfection, as he used to present it. The distinction which experience taught him to draw between being *awakened* and being *awake* began to take shape in his mind at a comparatively early date. A friend wrote on the subject as follows :

“Awakened are those who, influenced by the Holy Ghost, do not resist Him. But the Spirit of God is shed abroad everywhere, and is operative to the ends of the world; it is the will of God, moreover, that the Saviour should be presented to the whole world, ‘that whosoever believeth in Him should not perish, but have eternal life.’ Such being the expressed will of God, who can doubt that the merciful provisions of the New Covenant are intended to apply to the whole human family? And as every member of that family is born in sin, bound in the sleep and death of sin, does it not follow that each and all are able to be roused and wakened from that sleep and death? And that is clearly stated to be the work of the Holy Spirit (1 Cor. xii. 6 sqq.). As applied to the kingdom of God, it is necessary to remember that it is to be established and built up, not all at once, but gradually, by men that suffer themselves to be influenced by the operations of that Spirit in perfect *consciousness*, and, as the children and friends of God, cheerfully respond by ready acquiescence in the gracious purpose of God, surrendering their will to God’s, so that their will grows up with and thoroughly interblends with God’s. Where that condition prevails, the subjects are not only awakened, but *awake*; roused, awakened out of sleep into a state of consciousness, they are convinced of the necessity to persevere in vigilance and prayer, in the struggle with sin and the exercise of love. They are *awake*.”

It is clear that men may be awakened without being awake; they may be roused from the sleep of their natural state, but not to full consciousness, and so turn round, as it were, to the other side, either in the partial change of their inclinations, or in an exchange of their old resting-place for a new one under the cross of Christ, burdening Him with their sins, and sleeping sounder than ever before, in the conceit that perfection is out of the question here and belongs to the other world. To

correct that error and expose its fallacy, Ebel insisted upon the necessity of repentance, not only on the part of unconverted, ungodly men, but also on the part of Christians; he urged daily repentance, incessant watchfulness, keeping the conscience alive through self-examination and self-condemnation, holding it essential to the maintenance of a Christian life and to growth in grace and virtue that we must judge ourselves, and allow ourselves to be judged and exhorted. He agreed with Rieger (*I. c.*, p. 639), that ignorance, and, what is even worse than ignorance, the failure and omission of repentance, are the great stumbling-block in the way of growth in grace and holiness; that Christians must daily repent. To rely on faith alone and to continue in the practice of evil, or in the disinclination to do good, he deemed perilous and wicked; good works he described as goodly fruit growing on the good tree of faith naturally, *i. e.*, agreeably to the nature of the tree. Faith gives us a place in Christ, and through faith Christ dwells in our heart. Christians, then, conforming to the example and sharing the nature of Christ, must needs forswear and abandon all connection with a wicked world, the works of darkness, with sin and its progeny of wickedness.

The seeming paradox of St. Paul, "When I am weak then am I strong" (2 Cor. xii. 10), has been a great comfort to truly devout and humble Christians ever since he penned it. Its profound and cheering truth certainly did not escape Ebel, who ever drew comfort from the thought that the consciousness and conviction of personal sinfulness is an indispensable concomitant of true faith, and the secret spring of strength derived from God. God, by His Spirit, convinces us of our sinfulness and nothingness without Him; he lays us low, not

to crush, but to exalt us to the highest dignity, that He may be all in all ; and that conviction genders joy, that rejoicing in the Lord of which the same Apostle testifies in another place, and that joy in the Lord is distinctive of Ebel.*

As this very important subject has been admirably delineated by him in works not readily accessible to the general reader, this seems to be the proper place for the reproduction of several passages. In the first, † reference is made to the mind of a Christian in its relation to God, as distinguished from the natural, unrenewed mind of one still estranged from Him ; the spiritual frame of mind in which the divine holds the human in subjection, and the language runs thus :

“ In this frame of mind man is wont to grow oblivious of whatever relates to himself, and to abandon himself with all his corruption and misery to a merciful God, who, as it were, receives him in His gracious arms, expecting help and salvation from Him and Him alone, accepting all as the gift of His Love and Grace, and, as he is being changed into the image of Christ, ascribing the honor and praise to God alone. But be it remembered, that this involves that man (*i. e.* the strictly human in us) die with Christ, and rise with Him from the dead, that he is planted with Him in the likeness of His death, to be so in the likeness of His resurrection.”

No one that reads thoughtfully the words of St. Paul, and follows the chain of his reasoning in that wonderful

* For an expansion of the thought reference is made to his volume of sermons called *Die Weisheit von Oben* (Wisdom from Above), 2d ed., Basel and Ludwigsburg, 1868, from which a sermon on the subject is given in Appendix A.

† *Verstand und Vernunft*, 2d part, pp. 153, 159.

Epistle to the Romans, can resist the conviction that the words "It is Christ that died, yea rather, that is risen again, who is even at the right hand of God, who also maketh intercession for us" (viii. 34) are the signal of Christian triumph and exultation. And no one can be said to have realized his status as a Christian, who can not from the depths of his own consciousness blend his voice with St. Paul's: "Nay in all these things we are more than conquerors through Him that loved us; for I am persuaded that neither death nor life, nor angels, nor principalities, nor things present nor things to come, nor height nor depth, nor any other created thing shall be able to separate us for a moment ($\chi\omega\rho\iota\sigma\alpha\iota$) from God's love manifested towards us in Christ Jesus our Lord" (vv. 37-39). It is to this rapture of joy, this exultation of victorious faith that Ebel refers when he concludes that there is a joy, an undimmed, victorious joy over the nearness of God, a delightful sense of dependence, but yet of progress in spite of difficulties, and of growth in spite of hinderances, which springs from the testimony of a good conscience, *i. e.* the certain assurance of Divine Mercy and the consequent enjoyment of peace. "This frame of mind," he says, "is the inevitable fruit of a heart confirmed in the grace of Christ by means of knowledge and experience; it is the kingdom of God within us, the joy in the Holy Ghost springing from the consciousness of justification before God and of peace in Him; and the renewing and transforming power of that joy bears upon and interpenetrates the whole texture of our inner and outer life in all our relations to ourselves and others, to fellow Christians and others, to friend and foe, to high and low, to rich or poor, in joy and in sorrow, in living and dying, for our strength is joy in

the Lord." And in another place * he exclaims : "Christians have been traduced as melancholy people ; I know not any more cheerful and joyous ; they live under a merciful God, and carry a good conscience in a body pure and undefiled by the lusts of the flesh, they are surrounded by the countless good gifts of the divine bounty, which they daily and richly enjoy, and they look for the life of the world to come. None of these things, or only very few of them, are enjoyed by those who are not Christians. For this reason joy sparkles in the Christian's eye, and the peace of heaven irradiates and interpenetrates the whole texture of his existence."

After these references to his inner life, and methods of presenting the doctrines of salvation, we return to his outward relations.

The parsonage was put in order, and fitted up : and in order to lessen the burdens of his father, he brought three of the other children to Hermsdorf and began his own domestic life, August 8, 1808.

In the parish he was indefatigable. The services were well attended ; strictly devotional gatherings answering to prayer-meetings he did not encourage, because he considered them calculated to foster a very undesirable spirit of exclusiveness, engendering prejudice and tending to a species of Pharisaism. But he counted among his parishioners truly devout people, whom his sermons had rendered thoroughly awake, and who of their own accord would come to him for guidance and direction. And as they came to see him, so he would visit them in their own homes ; in cases of sickness he was unremitting in his ministrations ; he took a constant interest in

* *Tages-Anbruch*, p. 159.

the schools, and in these and many other ways was able to foster a truly religious spirit in all the practical forms of vital Christianity. There was a wholesome nucleus in the parish ever gathering strength and diffusing itself in every direction.

The study of the rich hymnology of the German language engaged much of his time at Hermsdorf. He loved to commit many of those beautiful hymns to memory, and to appropriate the practical and spiritual instruction they afford. These hymns are the productions of some of the most thoughtful and excellent men, and are animated by an element of practical piety, very desirable to be cultivated by all Christians, but especially by ministers, who thus acquire, among other benefits, a readiness to make proper choice of hymns in harmony with the sermon and the scriptural lessons. Ebel excelled in that way, and loved, moreover, to associate hymns with every event of his life. The importance of the study of hymnology as a most valuable factor in the private and public devotions of Christians can hardly be exaggerated.

The visitation of the schools absorbed much of his time. Aware of their vast importance he studiously tried to make his influence tell in personal intercourse with the children, through whom he reached of course their parents. He was a great favorite with the children, whom he encouraged in their studies by trifling presents tendered by way of reward to those deserving such distinction on account of fidelity, studiousness and good conduct.

Opinion is divided on that subject, some holding that the acquisition of knowledge should be the highest aim and greatest reward of youth. That may be true as a

beautiful theory in a scholastic commonwealth of perfect children. But youth in most schools is anything but perfect, and it is by no means uncommon, that the disposition of the pupils gives teachers far less trouble than unreasonable and injudicious influences pervading their homes. Rewards in the shape of prizes, judiciously and impartially awarded to the most meritorious pupils are generally advantageous to the morale of the school and beneficial to teachers and taught ; they work thus in the conduct of the family, they are so regarded in our best colleges and universities, and they have precisely the same effect in well administered schools of lower grades ; they are even commendable on much higher ground as the recognition of the procedure of rewards and punishments revealed in Holy Scripture as part of God's moral government of the world.

Ebel's system of catechization was also most excellent. He did not confine himself to questions addressed to candidates for confirmation, or the recently confirmed from the chancel, but would go from pew to pew and address young and old alike. He revived the practice of Spener, to make a lecture or a sermon a topic for expanded instruction, or even of discussion after the service. To this end he got some of the more gifted youth to write down his discourse in the organ gallery ; and began with interrogating them and others on the subject in hand ; questions would be put by others, revealing the actual difficulties and wants of his parishioners, and enabling him in an informal but thoroughly practical way to reach the hearts of his hearers and to influence their life. Nor did he confine his catechizations to church, but would visit the catechumens in their own homes, instruct and question them in the presence

of their friends, and try to diffuse information on all matters relating to education and to topics of general interest. He would sometimes share their meals, and in that way he did much good, as it enabled him to compose many a difficulty, and to solve many a hard problem.

In order to diffuse the knowledge of the Bible he revived a week-day service, which had fallen into desuetude. It was a sort of Bible class at which he would explain different portions of the Holy Scriptures, and encouraged school-children to attend ; and as their parents often accompanied them, he found means to interest them all. The beautiful hymns to which reference has already been made were also drawn into the course of instruction ; appropriate selection of those bearing on the particular subject in hand having been made, the lessons or sentiments they embodied would be pointed out, and the young people encouraged and recommended to learn them by heart. So there grew speedily around him a chosen circle of devoted friends, young and old, but especially of catechumens, on whom he bestowed the utmost care, and who constituted, as it were, a centre of devotion for the whole parish. The catechumens were encouraged to maintain familiar intercourse with their pastor after confirmation, and he set apart special days on which he would always be at home to see and confer with them on all matters they might wish to bring under his notice. His method resembled that of one of his predecessors, mentioned by the Rev. Sebastian Frederic Trescho, who in a volume called "*Religiöse Nebenstunden*" * (Religious By-Hours), develops the idea of

* Danzig, 1777.

keeping up permanent intercourse with the confirmed, and indicates the means for doing so. Ebel found his counsel in this and many other respects exceedingly valuable.

As this subject is one of the highest importance, and engages the thoughtful and anxious attention of many ministers, who (although the circumstances are altogether different both in England and America) find it a problem of difficult solution; the plan pursued by Ebel may possibly suggest some useful hints, and on that account will be perused with interest.

His first care was that they should not *forget* what they had *learnt*; he therefore reviewed the whole ground of their instruction, dwelling more particularly on neglected portions, and supplemented additional matter tending to deepen and, as it were, to stereotype the whole by constant reference to Holy Scripture; he gave special prominence to Bible History, and recommended the committal of golden texts and passages, as well as of the best hymns in their collections. He urged self-examination, giving them proper instruction to enable them to distinguish the springs of motive, and the tendencies of perverse or corrupt inclinations; he explained the bearing of duty on their changing relations, and its application to practice, showing them that as Christians they should strive to connect their religion with every possible situation of life; he spoke to them about choice of occupation and domestic relations; about work, service, management, etc., availing himself of every opportunity to place before them nature as the work of God, setting forth His wisdom and goodness in the vast operations of the universe no less than in the smallest occurrences and changes of their daily observation. He

likewise illustrated to them from a Christian point of view the constitution, privileges and duties of society. He urged the necessity of worship and explained its design, commanding attention to the preached word, and above all things the importance of prayer, and the culture of personal relations to the Saviour. He sought to instil into their hearts the friendship of Jesus,* to encourage them to mutual friendship ; explaining the offices of true friendship in the kind and frank interchange of confidences, especially those that would tend to their common improvement, telling each other their faults, praying each for the other ; he would make inquiries after the welfare of their acquaintance, and in that way give a practical turn to his instructions. Thus he led them step by step from the narrow sphere of their immediate surroundings to wider and widening ranges of thought and aim, dwelling on matters relating to the welfare of their country, the upbuilding of the kingdom of God, and Christian and philanthropic agencies, such as missions, the circulation of the Bible, and works of charity and general interest.

While Ebel was thus working indefatigably among his parishioners at Hermsdorf, and exerting himself to the very best of his ability to promote the noblest and highest interests of his rural flock, he received (in 1809) a communication from the bureau of the provincial government at Königsberg, charged with the supervision of ecclesiastical and scholastic affairs, known technically as

* The collection of sermons, published in a volume, called "*Die Treue*" (Fidelity), Königsberg, 1835 ; 2d edition, Basel and Ludwigsberg, 1863, contains a beautiful discourse on "Friendship with Jesus," with particular reference to St. John, xv. 15.

“the Ecclesiastical and Scholastic Deputation,” inquiring “if it were true, as they had heard, that he was an adherent of Schönherr, and, if so, how he could reconcile the opinions of Schönherr with the doctrinal teaching of the Evangelical Lutheran Church?” This was the first signal of an almost interminable persecution. Ebel received it as such from the start, and, as the event showed, he took a correct view. Ebel was at Hermsdorf, and Schönherr lived at Königsberg. If all the Deputation wanted to know had been to learn how Schönherr’s views could be harmonized with the dogmas of the Lutheran Church, they need not have written to Hermsdorf, but might have availed themselves of the offer of Schönherr to subject his opinions to a strictly scientific official examination. But they did not accede to his proposition, even to taking official notice of his request. The fact was that Schönherr, and his strong biblical bias, and all that shared it, were obnoxious and hateful to a body of men who did not receive the Bible as the Word of God. Schönherr, as a private citizen, was beyond the pale of their official jurisdiction, but Ebel, as a minister, was within it, and therefore they began with him.

As Ebel held the views of Schönherr as private opinions, just as he might have held those of some ancient philosopher on some other matter, it is evident that the Deputation went considerably beyond their province, which was purely supervisory in things pertaining to his official ministrations ; neither they, nor any other authority, were empowered to institute inquiries violating the liberty of conscience. Their inquiry, moreover, was not addressed to Ebel alone ; it had likewise been sent to his superintendent (a functionary with powers somewhat

analogous to those of a bishop), who, though far from coinciding with Ebel's philosophical views, stated in his reply that "Ebel was very zealous in the good cause, conscientious in everything, and especially in not teaching anything but what an Evangelical Lutheran minister was bound to teach."

Ebel, for his part, stated that he was a personal friend, not an adherent, of Schönherr, whose philosophical principle he had thoroughly examined, and found it at once agreeable to reason and the teaching of Holy Scripture, adding that he was ready, should they desire it, to establish by scriptural warranty any proposition contained in Schönherr's works they might wish to submit.

But the Deputation had no such desire, and, as they could not push the matter any further just then, they allowed it for a while to "lie on the table."

In order that the reader may understand what will presently engage his attention, it is necessary for him to know certain characteristics of Königsberg as the seat of a university and of the provincial government. Society there fifty or sixty years ago was utterly unlike anything to be found outside of Germany ; neither England nor the North American Union have anything at all comparable to it. The provincial governor, as the highest representative of the crown, led in all matters pertaining to civic administration, and the vast army of civic officers constituted one element of society ; the military, for Königsberg had a garrison, formed a second ; and the university, with the higher clergy, composed the third. The government at that time was still absolute, and the civil administration, including justice, more or less private, hedged in by precedents and red tape well nigh incomprehensible to those familiar only with the simpler

forms prevailing in the United States, and a narrow, bureaucratic spirit was as common in the State as in the Church. The Church was the Evangelical Lutheran Church, administered by a local Consistory under the civil direction of the provincial governor (*Ober-Präsident*), and the ecclesiastical supervision of a superintendent-general, who sometimes bears the title of bishop, the supreme direction of the whole belonging to the resort of a minister at Berlin. The term *evangelical* denotes not a peculiar theological direction, but designates Protestant; *e.g.*, the ministers at Königsberg were members of the Evangelical Lutheran Church, but the theological bias of the greater number was not what we call evangelical, understanding by that term the reception of the Bible as God-inspired, the divinity of our Lord, and conformity of the lives of men to the precepts of the Gospel, but ran in the direction of rationalism and neology.

Schönherr and Ebel were strictly *evangelical* in the modern acceptation of the term, and on that account odious to the ecclesiastical authority, which resented overtly where it could, and covertly where open opposition was impracticable or impolitic, a system of teaching which shed so unenviable a light on that which they set forth.

In 1810 the institution called *Frederic College* was changed into a gymnasium; an endowed church being connected with it, the managers were casting about for a fit person to discharge simultaneously the duties of professor and preacher. An old friend of Ebel, State Councillor Nicolovius, hearing of the vacancy, wrote to him on the subject with the request to apply for it. The position was just what he was longing for. All his family lived at Königsberg; he had there an extended circle of

personal friends and the intellectual resources at the university with its splendid library presented strong attractions, and the vacant position, should it be tendered him, would rid him of the working of the glebe at Hermsdorf, for which he had little aptitude. The question of emoluments had nothing to do with the matter ; his friend Count Dohna offered him at this juncture a country-cure of double the income of that attached to the vacancy at Königsberg, and with half the work, but he refused it. Pecuniary considerations did not move him one way or the other : his wants were few, and he had been schooled and brought up in frugality and self-denial : he acted on higher and nobler impulses. The question he revolved in his own mind was, where might he do most good, where best fulfil the work which God had given him to do, what was the will of God in the matter ? To Him he referred the decision in prayer, and clear in his own mind as to his duty, he saw in the communications he had received an intimation to make formal application for the vacancy at Königsberg. That had to be done according to prescript rule and precedent. He knew there were difficulties in the way, but difficulties never deter men of his stamp. God would clear them out of the way, if the way was of God's appointment ; under the dominant influence of that conviction he would progress, heedless of difficulties, in spite of hindrances, obstacles or opposition. He felt, in fact, he knew for certain, that he had enemies, who would leave no stone unturned to thwart his purpose. The hostile movement against Schönherr, and the attempted action of the Deputation against himself as the friend of Schönherr convinced him that his appointment would be strongly opposed, and all sorts of official cli-

canery would be liberally meted out to him. Though he had already filled very creditably the post of collaborator at another gymnasium in 1804, and given abundant proof of his aptness to teach, the Deputation fully competent under the circumstances to relieve him from a second examination, required him at very brief notice, precluding anything like preparation for it, to appear before an examining committee, composed of theologians, professors in theology, and pedagogues, for the purpose of being examined by them. This was an official intimation that there were breakers ahead ; unofficially he was informed that the examination would not be confined to his intellectual and scientific attainments, but extended to the specific investigation of his philosophical views. The president of the committee said to him in a letter : “ You are a truth-loving man, and therefore will not object to avow your opinions ; but such avowal may possibly interfere with the accomplishment of your purpose, etc.” He knew all this, but committing the issue to God, set out for Königsberg, and presented himself before the commission, passed a brilliant examination, and having been found possessed of an excellent judgment and superior attainments, was appointed preacher, and teacher of Religion, History and Hebrew in Frederic College, Sept. 1, 1810. The report of the committee presented to the Deputation says on the vexed subject of his supposed heretical or sectarian views, “ that while his eminent qualifications for the vacant position are unmistakable, he shewed no inclination in the direction of mystical irrational enthusiasm, and as to his peculiar ideas of the Nature of the Godhead they belonged altogether to the dry field of idle metaphysics ; ” and again as to his general qualifications, as exhibited in a trial-les-

son : "Ebel displayed knowledge, tact and judgment ; he had a peculiar way in dealing with young men, and quite another in the handling of the boys ; but both were very judicious. There was not the faintest trace in anything he said of mysticism, or opinions conflicting with Protestant doctrine." The official notification of his appointment was nevertheless accompanied by a caution to the effect, "that whereas his connection with Schönherr had impressed part of the public with an unfavorable opinion concerning himself, he was requested to avoid everything calculated to sustain that unfavorable opinion." The public referred to consisted, as the event showed, and as Ebel had early divined, of a very small part of the public indeed, for it embraced only clerical members of the very body clothed with the appointing power.

On the day set apart for the formal opening of Frederic College under its new constitution, Ebel was solemnly instituted by the Consistorial Councillor Krause, who spoke in the highest terms of his eminent qualifications for the ministerial office, which he illustrated by details carefully drawn from his past activity.

His new appointment entailed of course the inevitable separation from his rural cure, where he had so faithfully and beneficially labored during the sad and trying years of the war. He preached his farewell sermon on Sexagesima Sunday, 1811, based on the Gospel for the day (St. Luke, viii. 4 sqq.), reviewing his work among them, and inquiring how much of the good seed God had sowed in their midst, and what would be the yield to Him. It was a sad and sorrowful parting ; but it was God's will, and tears shed by eyes that were gladdened by his presence, and warm, earnest, affectionate commendations to the guardian care of God accompanied him.

There had been much in his ministry at Hermsdorf to try his mettle ; but as it had been wholesome to others, so had it been beneficial to himself, trying, schooling, fitting him for future usefulness. Taken altogether, that rural change had brought him more of felicity than of trial ; it was there that he matured in spiritual fortitude and progressed towards a higher measure of spiritual manhood, and next to all the benefits which God dealt out to him in graces, He gave him at Hermsdorf perhaps the greatest blessing of his life, a lovely, virtuous maiden, Augusta Leinweber, the eldest daughter of the burgess of the neighboring village of Quittainen, whom he married in 1811. Their union was truly in the Lord, for the blooming bride of twenty-one summers was devout and God-fearing, and every way a helpmeet for him ; he received her as sent by God, and a blessing she proved to him, from that day forward, in weal and in woe, in sickness and health, till death did them part for a time. And as he received her, so she received him, and so did her father, rejoicing and grateful that a man of God should have wooed and married his child.

Ebel was not a narrow-minded man ; but like all true Christians that rise above bare external and human considerations to the contemplation of the divine element in the church, he was in the highest acceptation of the term, catholic. Now what does that much abused term designate if it does not mean the love of the brethren, not only of those belonging to that particular branch or subdivision of the church with which we may happen to be identified by birth, association, choice, or conviction, but of all who, though differing with us as to forms or modes of worship, as to certain tenets even, agree with us in the love of Jesus, and strive, as far as they

know or are able, to keep his sayings. That was the mark of Ebel's catholicity, even at that early period of his ministry. Where the heart is right, and the life is right, we can all afford to be charitable on points of doctrine, and agree to differ. He had made the acquaintance of some excellent people attached to the principles of Gichtel; their intercourse was marked by mutual forbearance; they had no reluctance to avow their sentiments to him, and he frankly owned his sympathy with the views of Schönherr. Their differences were frequently discussed, orally and in writing, but as they were equally strong in their convictions and unable to relinquish them, the differences were compromised in the only true and satisfactory way of an agreement to differ. This mutual forbearance and kindness bore good fruit in the uninterrupted continuance of a life-long friendship; and when after the lapse of years of separation Ebel sent to one of his Gichtelian friends a volume of his sermons as a token of esteem, he acknowledged the act in these words:

“We thank you cordially for the communication of your evangelical homilies, blossoms of your heart and mind, fruits of devout occupation in the closet, and thank God, faithful commentaries of your walk as a Christian, and a teacher of the people; we thank you sincerely for the gift, and intend to use it as you desire. . . . When you, reverend friend, revisit our country, you will have occasion to hear more of our affairs. Though our views differ, there shall be no obstacles in our hearts, or on our lips to the common love of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. The blind world may enroll both of us in its almanac of heretics; it only stamps us with the marks of Him whose we are, and whom we serve, each to the best of his ability and knowledge.”

CHAPTER III.

FREDERIC COLLEGE.

THE position at Frederic College was not a sinecure ; it brought work incessant and diversified. From eighteen to twenty weekly recitations at school, pulpit preparation, and private lessons at home to several young people, constituted the round of his duties. In order to promote the education of relatives, and of several friends, he assumed the additional burden of their care. But whoever came into his home had to submit to the laws which governed its conduct, and as those laws were good and wise, they conduced to the welfare of all concerned.

As a teacher he was peculiarly successful. Absolute mastery of his subject, and independence of text-books, coupled with clearness of statement, and fluency of utterance, excited the profoundest interest of his hearers, and made especially his treatment of history very effective. Broad in his views, and skilful in the delineation of character, he imparted life-like reality to the great personages of profane and sacred history, and his manner of portraying the heroes of the Old Testament impressed the large number of Jewish pupils who attended the college very favorably and drew their confidence and affection.

He had joined the Pædagogical Society, and in 1814 delivered a lecture on "Religious Instruction in Gym-

nasia," which was favorably received by his large audience composed of experienced schoolmen, among them the celebrated Herbart, well known as a profound thinker and founder of a system of philosophy. The principles, developed at length in a subsequent publication,* were recognized as judicious and sound.

Into this period falls the production of a *Spruchsammlung*, or Collection of Texts, designed to serve as a guide to systematic religious instruction for youth. It is called in German a Leading Line (*Leitfaden*), and answers the purpose admirably. It is constructed on the principle of gathering under leading heads passages of Scripture illustrating them; *e. g.*, the leading thought, printed in large type, is the passage, OBEY YOUR TEACHERS, and under it follow, in small type, at full length, Hebr. xiii. 17; 1 Thess. v. 12, 13; Heb. xiii. 7; Lev. xix. 32; Coloss. iii. 21; Rom. xiii. 1, 7; Coloss. iv. 1. In the hand of a judicious teacher such a collocation of passages becomes very suggestive, and, as explained to children, tends to connect different portions of the Word of God by association. The little volume covers the whole ground of practical religion, embodies Luther's Lesser Catechism, and gives in a supplement the principles of Christianity. The *Spruchsammlung* met a real want, and has been widely introduced throughout Germany. In 1842 it had already reached a sixth edition.

A question of considerable importance and difficulty had to be solved in connection with the attendance of the pupils at church. Was it preferable to provide for them a special service, or to allow them to frequent the general

* *Ueber gediehliche Erziehung*, Hamburg, 1825.

service? The former plan had been adopted by the promoters of new ideas and carried to extremes of almost incredible absurdity; they had provided sermons on agriculture and secular topics, and extended their mania of specializing even to vaccination. Ebel put a stop to such nonsensical irreverence, and returned to the good old plan of providing one service for young and old alike, and struck the right note in advocating freedom of choice, requiring the students to attend service somewhere, but leaving the choice of the particular church to themselves. The effect of his ruling was highly gratifying, for, as he was a very attractive and interesting preacher, the majority frequented the College Church. His choice of topics was judicious and striking. Here are two or three: "The Coming of Christ Brings Joy," "Cheerfulness in the Discharge of Duty," "The Uses of Bad Examples," etc. It was his rule, as teacher of religion, during the week, to question the pupils on the sermon they had heard, and to enforce the lessons it had taught; the older pupils were required to write essays on them. The religious recitations became as popular at Frederic College as they had been at the Old Town Gymnasium, and their impressions, in many instances, deepened into abiding conviction. The whole college assembled daily at church before the recitations began. At this Morning Prayer Ebel would select striking situations from the lives of Bible characters, sketch them rapidly and pointedly, accompanied by practical reflections designed to touch the hearts and quicken the thoughts of his youthful audience to follow the good examples held up for their admiration. These brief addresses were concluded with prayer. Then school work began. His relations to the pupils were delightful;

the younger looked up to him as to a father, the older loved him as a brother and friend. Through the pupils he gained the confidence, esteem, and affection of their parents. But his very success in all these respects was insufficient to overcome the invincible prejudice with which his theological opponents watched his doings, and sought to undermine his influence by the insinuation of separatistic teaching. Two of their number carried the matter so far that they forbade their boys to frequent the religious recitations, but, as the boys remained in the school, the opposition did not gather the strength they had expected.

The College Chapel was rather small, and its diminutive proportions were the theme of ridicule to deter people from going there. True, it was not as large as some of the other churches of Königsberg, but it was crowded, and the worshippers made its appearance more worthy by providing chandeliers and decorating the chancel with appropriate ornaments. Outsiders, attracted by the vital truths so earnestly and eloquently set forth by Ebel, came in such numbers that the scant accommodation of the chapel was altogether inadequate, and the adjacent school-rooms had to be opened for their use. Nor is it at all difficult to explain the phenomenon of his popularity. He was the only preacher at Königsberg who set forth the truths of salvation and insisted upon the necessity of personal holiness and practical piety. The people were nauseated with rationalism, and longed for more palatable, more wholesome food. The contrast was too marked to escape observation and induce inquiry. The people were being awakened, and in some instances they were awake. The public opinion of Ebel, of course, was divided. That is always the case where the Word of

God is preached truly and earnestly ; the Gospel necessarily cuts asunder and separates, as in the hearts, the true from the false, so, in the masses, the lovers of truth from those who refuse to receive it. Some held that Ebel taught the way of God in truth ; others that he was deceiving the people. He was sneered at by some as “a preacher of grace,” while others did not hesitate publicly to declare that he was the best, in fact the only popular preacher. On one occasion, when some, at a social gathering, had given vent to their dislike of Ebel’s views and preaching in attempts to ridicule and caricature them, a gentleman of high culture and social standing, and withal gifted with ready utterance, quietly corrected the sneerers by reproducing them as to their substance. The *odium theologicum* tried hard to cry him down, but it could not be done, for the people heard him gladly, and it became the general opinion that his preaching was powerful and unlike that of other scribes.

During the exciting period of political convulsion terminating with the downfall of Napoleon (1812-1815), he frequently adverted to passing events in his sermons, for the purpose of stirring up patriotic feelings and deepening the faith of his hearers in the shaping hand of God’s overruling Providence. In that time of fearful anxiety the ecclesiastical authorities of Prussia had recommended week-day services as a means of promoting patriotism. They were held on Wednesday evenings, conducted by Ebel, and largely attended. A sermon preached at that time, bearing the title, “The Holy War,” reflects the prevailing sentiments of the period, and the manner in which he sought to shape them for high and holy ends. He specifies the causes which induced Prussia to declare war against Napoleon in these words :

" The causes are holy, if we take the sword in defence of sacred possessions; if we are called upon to defend and fight for liberty of conscience to worship God according to the precepts of His sacred Word, and to serve Him in spirit and in truth; for intellectual liberty, without which science and art cannot prosper; for independence from foreign tyranny, which would crush and deprive us of the blessings of peace which God dispenses; for the inalienable rights to our life and property, without whose enjoyments the higher ends of our existence are impossible. These are the causes of this war, and we may rest assured that a war founded on such causes is acceptable to God, and must conduce to the benefit of mankind, to our contemporaries, and to future generations."

And as to the spirit in which this war was to be waged, he gave utterance to thoughts which must have stirred the hearts and ennobled the aims of his hearers :

" If this war for such high and holy ends is to succeed, it must be commenced, continued, and consummated in mutual union and confidence.—I pause to shed a tear of sorrow over thy sins, unhappy fatherland, so deeply humiliated and degraded. What? You seek peace without, and yet are at war within? Are there not many in our midst who prefer the manners, the boastfulness and flatteries of the trifling and frivolous stranger to the simplicity, honesty and sturdiness of a near and sincere people? It is high time, dear brethren, that you should return to soberness of mind and abandon the delusion to take grandiloquent lies for truth, appearance for reality. Cease to be ensnared and befooled. It is not disgrace to avow error, and honor truth, for without truth we cannot live. . . . May the spirit of peace and concord dwell amongst us. Under the cross of Christ let us celebrate a great feast of reconciliation; here where our sins are forgiven, let us forget and forgive others. Here let us open wide the gates of our hearts to welcome the distant brothers

who still serve the enemy [allusion to the fact that certain portions of Germany were still with Napoleon, when Prussia gave the signal to rise], whenever they return to a sense of dignity to unite with us in the defence of the common weal."

After enumerating the duties of self-denial and self-sacrifice, the voluntary surrender of all they prized, he urges spiritual sacrifice in prayer :

"Let no one doubt," he concludes, "that the Omnipotent Ruler of our destinies who from on high beholds the undertakings of the children of men, will hear our earnest heartfelt prayer, and crown with glorious victory and heavenly blessing our efforts to secure His own ends through Him. He will be on our side, because we are on His side, He will not leave us, because we do not leave Him. Fear not the anger, the cunning, the hatred or the strength of the enemy against whom we defend our most sacred rights. Do not abandon confident assurance, grow not weary in prayer, and relax not your courage in the conflict, waver not in your faith, for they that wait upon the Lord, shall renew their strength. And whoever now or hereafter hears the call to arms, his vocation as a warrior, or who volunteers to take his place in the ranks of the valiant defenders of our beloved country, let him unsheathe the sword and take up arms in faith, wield them in this righteous and holy cause after the mind and purpose of God, and fight and triumph *with God for king and fatherland!* [the Prussian war-cry]. Let him fight with his hands, but cry to God in his heart. In that way he will certainly discover every stratagem and overcome every obstacle the enemy can devise, break asunder every disgraceful bond, shake off every galling fetter which would compel us to act against conviction. With God, dear brethren, we will do deeds, to put an end to every spiritual thraldom, to every obstacle to progress, and barrier to truth!"

Such preaching told at Königsberg ; its strong, manly, patriotic ring could not fail to impress the people who had groaned so long under the iron heel of foreign and domestic oppression. They yearned for freedom, and though years had to pass before they got it—and indeed they are far from having it yet—the yearning was there, slumbering in their hearts, and Ebel gave it utterance with no uncertain sound.

He was not a sentimentalist ; he did not believe in purely emotional preaching ; that he held to be contrary to our noblest intuitions, deceptive and highly injurious. “Dwelling chiefly on *feeling*,” he said, “is not truly human, but is deceptive and hurtful. Not truly human in that it accords to feeling an unduly exalted place in our nature, which in its ultimate aims destines man for a bliss involving the necessary antecedents of consciousness, personal perception of the truth, and decision ; in all these respects feeling occupies a very low place. It is deceptive in that it encourages the confounding of transient emotional ebullitions with permanent religiousness or piety, inducing men to form exaggerated conceptions of imaginary growth, and to foster spiritual pride and conceit. For feeling, or emotion, though prompted by grace, is extremely deceptive, unless it lead to immediate decision, and manifest itself in faith, and uninterrupted fidelity.”* One secret of the success of his sermons was a happy blending of heart and mind ; he touched his hearers in warm, glowing words that reached their heart, and he tried to convince their understandings. They presented a singular contrast to the dreary, hollow, metaphysical, dead speculations of emasculated

**Die Apostolische Predigt ist zeitgemäß*,” Hamburg, 1835, p. 92 sq.

Christianity, which in the guise of rationalizing morality was the spiritual food of the good people of Königsberg. In those days there was not a single pulpit in that city, besides Ebel's, where wholesome gospel doctrine was preached ; faith, renovation, personal holiness were not so much as breathed ; not a word was said about reconciliation and the atonement, and the one man who professed evangelical sentiments, I mean Borowski, took good care not to shock his hearers with such unfashionable themes, and avoided to pollute his lips or their ears with allusions to the devil, who was, of course, a myth. No one preached sin, that was a myth ; or faith, that was weakness ; or that the Bible was the Word of God, that was a delusion ; or that Christ was God and died for our sins, that was nonsense ; there were plenty who taught that God did not create the world in six days, that the narrative of the fall was a metaphorical description of inward temptation ; that the biblical dogma of the Trinity must not be taken literally, for that would amount to tritheism, but should be explained as anthropomorphism and anthropopathism ; that Christ's return to judgment was an allegory, or a dramatic representation, and that punishment itself must not be understood to imply eternal duration, for all would ultimately be saved.

Bearing this in mind, it is not difficult to see why the growing popularity of a preacher who swept all this kind of preaching aside as dust and cobwebs, was not at all palatable to those clergymen who saw their own congregations thinning and their hearers flock to the Chapel of Frederic College. The thing rankled in their hearts, and they eagerly waited for a suitable opportunity to check the movement ; they thought it had come in a fast-day sermon of Ebel's on St. Matth. xi. 25, 28, "I thank thee, O

Father, Lord of heaven and earth, because thou hast hid these things from the wise and prudent, and hast revealed them unto babes," and "Come unto me all ye that labor and are heavy laden and I will give you rest," in which he pointed out that it was futile to expect that science without revelation could remedy the crying evils of the time. There appears to have been present among his audience at the time "a credible man," who informed the Deputation that his teaching was unsound, or something to that effect, whereupon that body officially charged him "with the frequent utterance of convictions in his sermons and lectures which might lead to dangerous misapprehensions, threatening to obscure the purity of the religious mind of the rising generation, and seeming to betray an attachment to the principles of a separatistic sect incompatible with evangelical tenets," requiring him "to explain the matter, as well as his present relations to Schönherr."

Ebel did not know what to make of that vague official notice, and hesitated to comply with the request for a while; he took, however, occasion, in a private letter to a member of the Deputation, to express the hope that that body would gradually become convinced of their error, and save him the sad necessity of telling them, for conscience's sake, some plain truths. Disappointed in this respect, and pressed for a reply, he wrote one, which, for straightforward outspokenness and manly courage, presents a striking contrast to the vague insinuations of the anonymous credible accuser, and the still vaguer inferences of the Deputation. It is quite lengthy, though to the point, and in every respect a triumphant vindication of his position. He indignantly repelled and refuted the innuendoes of the Deputation, and concluded

with the sentence, referring to Schönherr, “With God and for his truth we are not afraid, though a host should be against us ; if God be for us, who can be against us ?”

This bold and defiant language did not suit the Deputation, who, within a week (June 21, 1814) from the date of Ebel’s reply, forwarded it with all the documents, including the printed works of Schönherr, to the Minister at Berlin, accompanied by a report specifying that “Ebel had always approved himself as an honest man of blameless purity ; that his pre-eminent and fascinating ability in the pulpit and the school-room, affecting young and old alike, would make him an ornament of Frederic College but for his sectarian tendency, and that, considering his qualities of heart and mind, they had reason to suppose he would recover independence of thought if he could be removed from the influence of Schönherr,” concluding with the recommendation that he be suspended from ministerial functions and removed to a scholastic position.

The Ministerium for Ecclesiastical Affairs in Berlin, the highest authority in Prussia, examined the report of the Deputation, and at the instance of Schleiermacher, the distinguished theologian, to whom the matter had been referred, negatived their recommendations, accompanied by a severe censure of their action. As this is a very important document of great ability, it is here reproduced. It bears date August 28, 1814, and runs :

“The Ecclesiastical and School Deputation has taken in hand a very precarious affair, requiring the most cautious and careful treatment, seeing that it contemplates a limitation and even a revocation of the liberty of teaching of a teacher in the church and school. The proper mode of procedure on the part of the Deputation ought to have been to

begin with a clearly-defined conception of the nature and limits of the liberty of evangelical teaching as bearing on the case of teachers in the church and school as contrasted with learned inquirers in universities, and having, upon exhaustive investigation of the matter, formed a definite and complete exposition of the alleged errors of Schönherr, to have submitted the same to the judgment of the Ministerium. Schönherr's printed work, which has been forwarded, is not sufficient for the purpose, for it contains only cosmogonical explanations, designed to establish the authority of the Bible, and without any danger to the interests of morality. . . . And as to Schönherr's conduct, which, in the opinion of the Deputation, is supposed to stamp him as a fanatic and sectary, Ebel's declarations on the subject appear throughout so definite, ingenuous, and credible, that the Ministerium cannot pronounce an adverse decision, seeing that the report of the Deputation lacks all authentic and contradictory data."

On the subject of Ebel's relations to Schönherr the document declares :

"Their personal intercourse and friendship are purely irrelevant, as it does not lie within the competence of public authorities to hold their subordinates responsible for their company, so long as it is not in manifest conflict with the laws of morality and of the State, or does not withdraw them from the discharge of official duty. The specified separate expressions alleged by the Deputation to have been made by Ebel, are so general that they might have been made by any one without being an adherent of Schönherr. But they do not reflect unfavorably on Ebel in any other respect. For his expressions on the value of science as connected with religion ought to have been given *verbatim* in the connection in which they were used in order to pass a correct opinion of them, and whoever treats in the pulpit or in the school of the dogma of the devil does not transgress the limits of the evangelical liberty of teaching, for it cannot be demonstrated

that it is not founded on Holy Scripture. . . . As the Deputation has seen fit, without proofs resulting from thorough and exhaustive investigation, to begin with severe accusations against Ebel without anything to substantiate them, it is not by any means surprising that Ebel construes their procedure as contradicting the express declaration of the Deputation that they did not wish in the least to curtail the evangelical liberty of teaching, and in his reply assumes the position of an opponent, and the Deputation has accorded him that prerogative by their reference of the case to the decision of the Ministerium without having furnished the necessary proofs of their assertions. This exposition of the case renders it evident that the Ministerium is unable to decide it according to their recommendations. The report and its accompanying documents establish abundantly that Ebel does not deserve to be either removed or suspended from the functions of a teacher in the church and the school. To visit him with either would be inconsistent and an act of violence, and lay the Ministerium open to the suspicion of a spirit of persecution, against which it believes to have cause to warn the Deputation.”

This Ministerial Rescript was a nauseous draught administered to the Deputation, but like many nauseous medicines it had salutary effects, for it taught the gentlemen that it was not safe to persecute a man like Ebel, whom the highest authority in the State pronounced absolutely free from all the terrible charges which they had brought against him, and that even his private philosophical convictions were declared on the same authority to be warranted by Holy Scripture. The immediate result of the Rescript was not only an effectual cessation of open hostility on the part of the Deputation, but as its tenor became known, an increasing popularity of the persecuted minister.

And how did Ebel behave under this unprovoked and bitter hostility? He was cheerful and full of faith, and practised what he taught. In the Conference Room of the college was suspended the portrait of Dr. Lysius, the founder of the institution and his predecessor in the Ministry, with the inscription :

*Nichts mehr du lieber Herre mein,
Dein Tod soll mir das Leben sein.*

He also had been reviled as a heretic and a sectary. That picture and its history gave him consolation and encouragement in his trials ; it refreshed his soul, for he felt that he preached the word of reconciliation, and that he was persecuted solely because he preached pure, unadulterated prophetical and apostolical doctrine. The persecution he regarded as a token of divine favor and a seal to his ministry ; it deepened his piety, increased his faith, and augmented his zeal.

CHAPTER IV.

OLD-TOWN CHURCH.

I HAVE already referred to Ebel's growing popularity. Several of the larger parishes desired his ministrations, and although hostile influences were silently at work to prevent his promotion, the feeling in his favor was so strong and pronounced, that the largest parish in the city chose him for their Pastor on January 8, 1816. He preached his first sermon from 2 Cor. i. 24: "Not for that we have dominion over your faith, but are helpers of your joy; for by faith ye stand." It was a noble effort, very characteristic of the man; he showed that a good and true minister, so far from seeking to establish a dominion over the faith of his parishioners, dares not, cannot and will not prostitute and caricature his sacred office by arrogating to himself any such domination; not as a spiritual despot but as a helper of their joy he had come into their midst. These were its leading thoughts; but that there should be no misapprehension as to what he understood joy to import, he took occasion to turn to the open Bible and said:

"My dear congregation, with this book in my hand I purpose always to come to you; and not only with the book, but with a heart overflowing with the profoundest veneration for all it contains, and yearning to impart to you all the

blessed truths of its sacred pages. Whenever I ascend this pulpit, from which the sainted Neumann used to catechize me as a child in the truths of this book, I will point to it; whenever I ascend that altar where my grandfather, my father and I professed the Christian faith and were confirmed, I shall feel under ever-new obligations to preach to you Christ; and whenever you draw near in confession * to yonder seat, where the godly Erhard Jacob Jester and his father spoke to you the words of life and spent themselves in the service of God, your confidence will encourage me to proclaim to you the truth and comfort of the Word of God, and what it requires you to do. Yea, wherever and whenever I have to lift my voice in your hearing, in the chamber of sorrow and bereavement, at festal gatherings of joyous occasions, I will ever announce to you the everlasting truth, so that the hearts of parents may be gladdened by the consecration of their children, the sick refreshed, the mourner comforted, and the dying prepared in faith for the bliss to come, with the last look of their eyes, and a farewell pressure of their hand bear me testimony that I was a helper of their joy."

The allusions in this extract require an explanatory paragraph. The Old-Town Church was truly his spiritual home, full of the most tender and touching associations. His grandfather, his father and himself had been confirmed in the venerable edifice. There stood a pillar near which his grandmother had consecrated his father in maternal tenderness to the service of God. There for three generations the Ebels had been wont to worship God; both his father and he, as scholars of the Latin School, had filled the office of acolytes at its altar; there he had been catechized; there his father had been precentor, and Ebel, blessed with a full, melodious voice,

* Confession in the Lutheran Church is a devotional service preparatory to Communion.

had often represented his father in that office at mattins, led the song of the congregation, and as the voice of the youth had rehearsed the praises of God in many an old and beautiful choral, so now in the first maturity of his manhood the same voice rehearsed the praise and glory of the same God in the message of the Gospel. His father's joy at his promotion was unbounded.

“What a blessing,” he wrote, “what happiness that I am permitted to see my son lead souls to Christ! How much greater, how ecstatic will be our bliss, when we and our flocks shall appear before the Shepherd and Bishop of our souls to blend our praises with His and to reign with Him! Let others joy over the enlightenment they have found in the nineteenth century, we will joy and rejoice in the Lord who died for our sins and rose for our justification.”

The truly evangelical turn which now marked the religious convictions of the elder Ebel had been, under God's merciful guiding, one of the sweetest first fruits of the younger's ministry.*

Friends near and at a distance had been gladdened by his preferment. From his old country cure came words of congratulation:

“We thank you,” wrote his kind and grateful friends, “for telling us that you have been chosen preacher of the Old-Town Church. We are one and all delighted at the news,

* This excellent man held, during the last years of his life, the pastorate at Goldbach, near Tapiau. He was called away in 1823, in the sixty-sixth year of his life, after a brief illness. Before his peaceful and happy departure, he summoned his friends to his bedside and sang with them the beautiful hymn, “*Man lobt dich in der Stille*,” and dwelt with great delight on the love of his children, who, on that account, he felt sure, must be happy. His confidence was prophetic.

and continue to take the warmest interest in your welfare, rejoiced at your success and your promotion, uniting our praises with yours to Lord God Almighty, merciful and just, for answering our prayers and frustrating the designs of your enemies. . . . All the good people that know and love you, share your joy. I told some, whom I knew to be your friends, of the good news, and they burst out in jubilant rejoicings. Count Dönhof told me he had felt sure that the choice would fall on the dear, good Ebel, so you see that the salvation of the righteous is of the Lord, and that He heareth the prayer of His children that cry unto Him and love and fear his holy name."

The cure of souls, with which he was especially charged in his new position, engaged the peculiar care and prayerful anxiety of Ebel. That important part of the Christian ministry was almost entirely neglected in Germany during the first quarter of this century, and very imperfectly attended to in the second. It was Ebel's most studious and earnest endeavor to make it a reality. The great difficulty of that work is well understood and deeply and painfully felt by all clergymen truly and sincerely anxious to turn intercourse with their parishioners to spiritual benefit. It is sometimes apparently impossible to establish that relation ; and yet as each parishioner has a soul so be saved, we are bound to try, as far as we are able, to bring that soul under religious influence. So felt Ebel, and as his practice was exceptional at Königsberg and singularly successful, it is by no means surprising that it was first called peculiar, and then cried down as "*Sectirerei*," or separatism, which word has an unpleasant ring in German ears, and is meant to insinuate a species of hypocritical cant. He did not thrust his spiritual ministrations on others, but encouraged his parishioners to consult him about their

spiritual affairs. The Old-Town Church was served by several clergymen, and the regular weekly services in the church were unusually frequent. There were three services with sermons on Sundays and Holy days, and three mattin services during the week, besides the public preparatory services for the Holy Communion. Under these circumstances the influence of the pulpit was exceptionally strong in that particular church, and the earnest, searching, and faithful utterances of Ebel were blessed to the awakening of many souls who, until then, had been fed with the husks of rationalizing, skeptical dogmas, on which they were spiritually starving. Diestel, his friend and colleague, who had known him a score of years, said on this peculiar gift of Ebel in the cure of souls :

“On the firm and solid foundation of the word of revelation, the treasury of truth and wisdom to all seekers of the truth and lovers of God, Ebel has a wonderful power to pierce with the living word, as it animates him through and through, the hearts and minds of his hearers ; his tact in evoking the hidden germs of the spiritual life, in uniting things that are like, and sundering those that are unlike, is marvellous, and singles him out as eminently skilled in stirring and developing in love, wisdom and power the spiritual life, in comprehending ‘with all saints what is the breadth, and length, and depth, and height, and to know the love of Christ.’”

Students and professors in the university flocked in masses to the Old-Town church to be quickened in heart and thought by the ardent zeal and eloquent fervor of this veritable Gospel preacher. Of his appearance and carriage a parishioner drew the following sketch :

“His words are enhanced by his engaging and winsome presence. Noble in form, strong yet lithe, quick and graceful in his movements, his regular, handsome features express

gentleness. His sparkling large blue eyes under a noble forehead surmounted with brilliant raven hair smoothly parted proclaim at once ardent self-consecration in the service of God and of sympathetic interest in his fellow-men; his voice is well modulated and melodious, a fit means of the full utterances of his love. He presents the rare appearance of a servant of Christ who combines a wonderful array of personal attractions and extraordinary intellectual endowments with the purest zeal in the service of God for the benefit of his fellow-men."

This is certainly an attractive portraiture, which might seem overdrawn if it stood isolated; but here is another that not only corroborates but intensifies it.

"The people of Königsberg are well acquainted with the splendor of the beautiful services which under the ministry of Ebel has quickened a truly Christian life in the largest congregation assembling in our largest church. The imposing edifice, the extraordinary richness and beauty of the music rendered with singular effectiveness by an excellent chorus supported by the rich tones of its celebrated organ, the great solemnity and dignity of the established ritual, and above all things the vital and deeply impressive preaching of the Divine Word by Ebel, conspire in the production of a wonderfully edifying service. He preaches not only on Sundays and Holy Days but at mattins to large congregations composed of all classes of society, who receive his message with the most lively interest and a yearning for salvation quickening and developing true devotion and spiritual activity; these services are singularly edifying and give the impression that God is worshipped here in spirit and in truth, an impression fully sustained by their influence on the private and public life of the city in the promotion of a true Christian spirit. The beautiful Old-Town Church services, unique in their kind, and universally admired, have left an indelible remembrance in the minds of all who have been edified by them, and of many to whom they did not become, as they were designed, a savor of life unto life."

Here is another testimony from a clergyman, who often attended them :

“ The living conviction which animates Ebel, must needs be operative in quickening energy. His personal love of God and Christ, his absolute unconditional faith in the declarations of Holy Scripture, his undoubted assurance that the promises of God are true and in course of fulfilment, and lastly his conviction that man is a free agent at liberty to make choice concerning himself and his eternal destiny, to elect good or evil, life or death as a principle by which to shape his course, to grasp, apply and confirm it in his life, to be personally active and instrumental by incessant vigilance and unremitting labor in laying now the foundation for the future—such spiritual elements could not fail from their very nature to produce powerful and vital effects. Whoever was susceptible to spiritual impressions, or swayed by noble impulses would be drawn to Ebel’s sermons, and those who came to church to worship God and learn His will, came not in vain, but were satisfied with the light and warmth, the life and strength which his ministrations of the Word imparted. The solemnity and devout attention, the rapt and profound devotion, the thoughtful and sympathetic bearing of the congregation were in perfect harmony with the spiritual beauty of the service, in which prayer, music and sermon presented an edifying unity in diversity. The services impressed you with the conviction that a free and vital spirit underlay and entered into all their component parts; and they promoted in our city a truly Christian spirit in a congregation thoroughly in earnest to learn and to do the will of God.”

And yet another expression, from one that loved to own that she owed her spiritual life to him, may conclude this array of testimony :

“ Without admitting it to myself, until then I had never really loved to go to church, for I am not sentimentally disposed, and the ordinary preaching did not attract me. But

Ebel's preaching gave me the first conviction that faith has its reasons, that Christianity is designed to meet every want, and therefore the wants of thinking; that it is the religion of consciousness, and therefore of joy; that it wants not slaves, not dull and lukewarm confessors (like many church-goers, who hear and learn much, but not what is the will and purpose of God, who behind His back mock and remain idle, and in His presence assume the air of saintliness); . . . but children, volunteers, friends, loving to know and cheerfully to do His blessed will. His manner of dwelling on the voluntary surrender of the heart to God who loved us first; to proclaim in His name joy, at once delighting in Him and in response to His love; to implant and realize a life conforming to the truth as it is in Jesus, as it existed in the primitive church; that preaching, so novel and strange at a time when religion was frivolous and dead, everywhere and irresistibly awakened the life of an energizing faith. . . . It awakened me first to rapt attention . . . it gave me an insight into the heart of God as that of a Father, and taught me, what before I had not thought of, that He loves me; my love went out to Him with an intensity of ardor that I had not known before; it taught me that I had found my Father, and it filled me with rapturous joy. My former life with its trials and experiences, as far as they had engaged my imagination, fell into oblivion with the sole exception of the feelings I had cherished of God, and the thoughts I had bestowed on Him. The old spell or ban that had lain on me, seemed to be broken, my whole being began to breathe free, in an element wonderfully congenial to its original necessity. . . . Whatever was of foreign growth dropped away from me like a garment, and I felt in this my first, never dreamt of reception of the love of God, as if all of a sudden all things had become new, within and around me, and I rejoiced in being the happiest of the children of men."*

* Ida von der Gröben, "*Die Liebe zur Wahrheit*," pp. xxv-xxxvii.

These testimonies suffice to show what Ebel did : we will now lift the curtain to gain an insight into his feelings. He realized more than ever the tremendous responsibilities of his sacred calling ; there was not only the most earnest anxiety as to the proper selection of topics, so that he might to the best of his ability rightly divide the Word of God ; but the most studious and prayerful endeavor to present the truth so as to meet the spiritual needs of his people. He never ascended the pulpit without trepidation, for he felt that he was the messenger of God, the ambassador of Christ entreating men to be reconciled to God. He lived in a period and in a city singularly destitute of the knowledge of vital religion, and powerfully prejudiced against everything that savored of practical piety and true godliness. Where such is the dominant feeling in a large and influential community the servant of God is sorely tried, and must be peculiarly watchful to keep from his views, and exclude from his teaching any and everything that to his own conscience may seem a betrayal of his sacred trust, a temporizing with the interests of God, or a withholding part of His counsel from the people ; the great end of his ministry is to bring the hearts of his hearers under the influence of the divine Word, and to save their souls. He must try to gain their confidence to win them over to the service of Christ ; he must touch their hearts and convince their understandings to enlist them in the sacramental host of the saved ; he must therefore avoid to hurt their feelings, or offend their prejudices, and deal gently and sparingly with sensitive and vulnerable points. Now all this requires almost superhuman tact, skill, and wisdom, and a true minister of Christ trembles at the greatness of his work when he is daily, hourly and pain-

fully reminded that he is but an earthen vessel, swayed by contending emotions ; questions that spring from the fear of man must be dispelled, and he must gird himself for his work in pasturing his own soul, in rising superior to every earthly consideration, in listening only to the dictates of his conscience quickened by prayer and the study of the Word of God, to be bent upon only one thing, to do the will of God in reliance upon divine direction, regardless of consequences. That was the spiritual conflict in Ebel's soul, and he derived unspeakable comfort and encouragement from the words of Jeremiah xv. 19-21, which in Luther's version read thus : "Therefore thus saith the Lord : If thou wilt hold thee to me, I will hold to thee, and thou shalt remain my preacher ; and if thou shalt teach the godly to separate themselves from the wicked, thou shalt be my teacher : and thou shalt not turn to them, but they shall turn to thee. For I have made thee unto this people a fenced brazen wall ; and though they fight against thee, they shall not prevail against thee : for I am with thee to save thee and to deliver thee, saith the Lord. And I will also deliver thee out of the hand of the wicked, and I will redeem thee out of the hand of the terrible." This passage, so striking in its boldness, is a fair sample of the wonderful genius of Luther as a translator ; the exact phraseology is neither in the Hebrew, the Septuagint nor the Vulgate, which warrant the more literal rendering of the Authorized Version, but that his version seizes the sense and expresses it in wonderfully clear language, not uncolored by his own personal experience, none can deny : and the words must have come home with irresistible force to Ebel in the courageous warfare he waged in the service of God in the midst of an irreligious and gain-

saying people. He felt when he stood in the Old-Town pulpit that he must take the offensive against the world, that his weapon must be the sword of the Spirit, the Word of God, and he knew the temper of the times too well to apply the unction to his soul that the world would submit to his entreaties ; he knew that his every position would be assailed, that he would have to encounter the most positive and bitter antagonism, and that it became him to be thoroughly equipped for the seemingly unequal conflict. We are told that he was wont to fortify himself, as he ascended the pulpit in that trying period of his ministry, repeating to himself some sentiment of encouragement embodied in favorite hymns, especially the stanza :

*Hilf selbst durch alle Schwierigkeit,
Und auch durch alle Schwächen,
In gläubiger Ergebenheit,
In Sieg und Segen brechen.*

In his own words, expressed many years later, Ebel recognized his peculiar mission :

“To appeal to the will and excite it to personal liberty, so that by its own deliberate decision men might show gratitude for the love of God and evince it in their lives made conformable to God’s. I regard it as the great work of my life to urge the children of God to voluntary self-consecration in the pursuit of goodness ; this I deem to have been especially committed to my charge, my peculiar mission to this generation, that the glorious liberty of the children of God, to wit : their full status of adoption, may soon become manifest on earth (even as St. Paul testifies—Rom. viii. 19, 23), which is intimately connected with deliverance from the bondage of corruption, from bodily tribulation, for which the creature and our sorely-plagued race is yearning. But that deliver-

ance, that redemption of our body involves the condition of our voluntary participation in the work of our salvation, the condition of grateful return love for mercies received, for, as I apprehend the matter in virtue of the light vouchsafed to me, man is not a machine, solely left to be operated upon by God (for that would make God the author of sin and evil), but an independent agent, of his own free will to choose the good and refuse the evil, to accept, appropriate, and apply the means of grace which God offers him, and on the proper use off which depends his salvation, which God has placed in his own hand. What is growth in grace unless it be growth to independence, to free, personal decision in the adoption and practice of good? And wherever this growth is recognized as the original motive-spring of the development of our spiritual life, the crouching, slavish mien and bearing of fear cannot exist; man, conscious of the great end of his existence, rejoices in the knowledge that he is called upon to co-operate with God, and though his success may not keep even pace with his endeavor, though resistance struggle with success, a good man, in spite of it, joyously lifts up head and eye, and his pure good will is owned in heaven, even as it rewards him on earth."

As I understand Ebel, he points out that our moral liberty consists in the united power of thinking and reasoning, and of choosing and acting upon such thinking and reasoning; so that the clearer our thought and conception is of what is fit and right, and the more constantly our choice is determined by it, the more nearly we rise to the highest acts and exercises of this liberty. The fact that God enjoins any commandment whatsoever implies the ability of man to do or not to do it. As the church of the Laodiceans (Rev. iii. 14-20) was exhorted to open the door at the Lord's bidding that He might come in and sup with them (cf. St. Luke xiv. 16-24) so

we must make the necessary preparation, and put on the wedding-garment His love supplies (St. Matth. xxii. 1-14).

Ebel's theology as reflected in his sermons is not of a particular school or stripe, but strictly biblical and therefore edifying. His constant aim was to win friends for Jesus, true friends bearing much fruit, and he urged and entreated men to begin the blessedness of their friendship this side the grave, with such warmth and earnestness that one day one of his hearers on leaving the church exclaimed : " He would in his love take men to heaven by force, if he could have his own will ; but it cannot be done that way, and he must leave many behind."

His preaching was eminently practical, the outcome of his own spiritual experience, and touched in every turn and thought the spiritual wants of his hearers, and that made it acceptable to all classes and conditions of men, to the educated and the illiterate. Strangers were so much struck and touched to the quick by his presentation of the truth that they were eager to seek his personal acquaintance, or where that was impracticable, to thank him in letters for the benefit they had received. The influence and effects of his sermons were remarkable, and he rarely preached without awakening to life some soul or another. His faith was strong and childlike, and he relied implicitly on what may be called the inspiration of the moment for the choice of a topic or its treatment. At least it happened not rarely that he delivered a sermon altogether different from the tenor of his preparation. It has already been stated that he always preached *ex capite* ; on several occasions he had actually read the text, and under an irresistible impulse preached another sermon

than that he had prepared, and learned years after that on those particular occasions, to his great joy, persons of whom he knew absolutely nothing at the time, ascribed the turning point in their spiritual life to those very sermons. In the years 1818 and 1822, when very large numbers were religiously influenced by him, his ministry was exceptionally blessed.

Baron von Heyking, in his manuscript notices of Ebel's life, mentions from personal knowledge the case of several persons on whom a discourse on the words "My son, give me thy heart," produced so powerful an impression that it decided their religious life, which stood the test of temptation. Another sermon on the topic : "The Great Change wrought in us by the Holy Spirit" (given in Appendix A), had an extraordinary influence on many minds, stirring their inmost soul in earnest longing for that blessed change ; the Spirit of God rested upon him, "and the Lord added to the church daily such as should be saved." In his ministry was fulfilled the prophetic announcement that the hearts of the fathers were turned to the children, and also the hearts of the children to the fathers ; its influence was so great and wide-spread at this time that there was hardly a Christian family throughout the province, that did not directly or indirectly share its spiritual blessing.

And what was the magnetism of those sermons and of the man felt everywhere, which attracted even to the mattins (held at 6 A.M.) professors, civil and military officers, students, etc., some of whom so deeply interested in what they heard, that they wrote down the sermons, copied and circulated them among friends at a great distance ? In what consisted their vitalizing power ? I allow his friend Heyking to answer these questions.

"Ebel was free from all one-sidedness in thought and feeling, but all life, and the spiritual element dominated in him, so that his sermons were *thoughts* drawn from the Word of God, quickened by his own experience and a keen knowledge of the hearts of men, not transient ebullitions of feeling, and yet they were so warm, earnest and manifold that they were sure to touch all who felt the need of just that kind of stimulus to quicken their spiritual life. He did not deal out things by halves, but teaching the whole truth in the conversion of a soul to God and cutting off all excuses, his words entered into every receptive soil. He did not separate sanctification from reconciliation ; if he extolled the mercy of God pitying man in his misery and providing the means of his salvation, he exhorted men to use their liberty in order to become *free indeed*. But even whole truths, free from doctrinal objection may be so presented that they resemble painted plants without growth and life ; Ebel's words were living plants ; life only can gender life, and if life and truth had not dwelt in them, and been infused into them from his own heart and soul, they would have fallen, like many other sensible words uttered or written, dead upon the ears and souls of his hearers ; but they were powerful and operative, because he was true, and stood in the truth. I remember the conversation of two of my legal friends, in which the one alleged that preachers did not believe what they taught, and the other replied that while he shared his opinion in general, he knew one exception, and that was Ebel, who believed what he taught. Love was another element of his sermons, not of the weak sort, but emitting flames when he dwelt on the self-deception of many who think that they love and honor Christ and are sure of salvation,

when with trifling temerity they degrade Him into a servant of sin. There were those who held that repentance had nothing to do with Christianity, and mocked at his discourses as “penitential sermons.” He did preach repentance, but repentance unto life, not unto death ; he reasoned that God is Love, and has created us to happiness and joy—to joy in a holy spirit, and that He does not wish us to perish either in melancholy and despair, or in voluptuousness ; and that Christianity is a religion of joy, educating us to the noblest enjoyments ; thus he taught it, and thus he *lived it.*”

In Appendix A are produced several of the most celebrated of Ebel’s sermons ; they are noble utterances of noble thoughts, thoroughly biblical throughout, and homiletical productions cast in the traditional mould current in Germany ; in point of language, rhetorical finish, felicitous and ready application, they may be instanced as pattern sermons, elevating and edifying to Christian readers everywhere, clerical or lay. Their perusal, for which the glowing language of Baron Heyking and of so many other most competent witnesses is almost sure to whet the appetite of the reader, may not come up to his expectations ; and it is impossible that it can. The printed sermons are not the sermons which electrified his audience ; they give the words he wrote down in his study before and after they were preached, but they are minus his delivery, the charm and witchery of his eloquent, musical voice, of his eagle glance, of his dignified presence, of the vital and vitalizing energy which went out from the heart and soul of the preacher into the heart and soul of his hearers. On this point all that ever heard Ebel are agreed ; and we must bear it in mind in perusing these sermons. They are noble and

worthy mementos of a Christian hero, but they are not, and cannot be, the sermons which shook Königsberg and the entire province, and roused the spiritually dead from the sleep of death into life, and quickened that life into enthusiastfc self-consecration to the service of Christ ; for that it were necessary to bring back the Christian victor from the paradise of God.

Ebel attached the utmost value to the early morning services, which were unspeakably precious to him. On festivals they were held at six o'clock, on week-days at seven ; to attend them necessarily involved self-denial and betokened profound religious feeling, and before his time they had been deserted. Their distinctive feature was their high range of thought and deep, soul-searching discipline, designed to meet the spiritual wants of earnest seekers and matured Christians.* The Monday service was specially devoted to the study of the Bible, and he called his expositions "Glances at the Bible." In the course of his long ministry at the Old-Town Church he traversed in that way the whole field of the Word of God ; until 1827 the contents of the Old Testament, and from that period to the close of his official career in 1835 that of the New Testament. It is much to be regretted that that most valuable and characteristic series of expositions has not been permanently preserved in print.

His heart was aglow with love for the young, in whom he took the profoundest interest ; to sow in their pure, uncontaminated hearts the good seed of the divine truths was his favorite employment, and engaged his warmest prayers and ceaseless thought. He took especial pains with candidates for confirmation. It may be necessary

* See "A Paradox" Appendix A.

to state, for the benefit of those not familiar with that discipline of Church instruction in Germany, that the clergy are bound to administer confirmation annually to the youth of the parish, and the proper age, the years of discretion as we call it, is generally the completion of the fourteenth year ; it is also proper to add that the Church in Germany is an establishment not only connected with the State, but under State control, so that the position of a parish minister is invested with a degree of authority unknown under voluntary systems. In the matter of confirmation, *e. g.*, a search for candidates, or special effort to induce their attendance at lectures or courses of instruction, does not devolve upon a Lutheran minister in Germany ; the whole parish youth, duly registered in books kept for the purpose, are required to attend, and do so as a matter of course. This accounts for the large number of catechumens, and for the great opportunity given to a truly devout and earnest minister to bring personal influence to bear on the formation of the character, grounding in the faith, and the growth of Christian nurture and life of the youthful members of his flock. Ebel turned that golden opportunity to the best advantage of his catechumens, in whom he saw the hope of the Church. He divided them into three classes, representing their grades of culture and intellectual capacity ; there was a class of weak ones, a class of average or middle ability, and a class of able ones ; he gave two or three hours a week to each class ; the instruction on a particular day lasted three hours ; in the first he would have the weak ones by themselves, in the second the weak with those of medium capacity, and in the third these with the most advanced, while the weak ones were required to be present as hearers ; in addition to this he met the most able

by themselves several times a week. The advantages of such a system, where it can be introduced at all, are manifest. The weak by themselves are prepared for higher instruction each time they meet ; the judicious and kind directions of their spiritual guide encourage and qualify them for participation in the catechetical exercises designed for all, while that considerate and careful preparation shields them from hurtful reflections by their more able and gifted companions, to which thoughtless answers, or answers betraying their ignorance, would naturally give rise. The course of instruction was based on passages of Scripture, which, as well as appropriate hymns, were required to be committed ; the lessons they embodied were duly explained and made to bear on religious and practical duties of daily life, particular pains being taken to induce vigilance, thoughtfulness, self-examination, and, above all things, practice. His method attracted attention, and was thus noticed in print :

“Ebel’s instruction of candidates for confirmation was based on vital reciprocity. Even the rudest were unable to resist the spirit which influenced them ; the disobedient became obedient, the dull grew vivacious and communicative, the triflers became serious, and the careless diligent. He did not turn out only awakened youth, but young men and maidens fully prepared with the growth of their self-consciousness to understand the end of their existence, and to consecrate themselves in the first ardor of their love to the service of God, prepared for the discharge of their duty to God and to man. The expression of this kind of instruction on the day of confirmation was very striking. The catechumens did not shed tears originating mostly in an impulse of momentary emotion, and apt to dry forever after the excitement of the hour ; but they exhibited a free, conscious, and intelligent statement, plainly showing that their ideas were

clear and distinct, that they were held firmly and truly, that they had not merely learned what they uttered, but *understood* and *believed* it."

That the children were devotedly and affectionately attached to their good pastor needs no particular mention, but it was remarkable that children belonging elsewhere, and parents residing at a great distance coveted the privilege for their children to come into personal relations with one so singularly gifted to excite and sustain the love of the truth, and to bless them with the choicest and best of heaven's gifts.

As at Hermsdorf, so at Königsberg, Ebel's relations to his catechumens did not end with their confirmation ; as they were sure of his interest and affection for them, so he encouraged them to maintain social intercourse with him, and set apart special days for conferring with them on whatever might be of interest to them, but especially on their own personal relations to God and the Saviour.

He was the pastor on all occasions of a joyous or of an afflictive character. At baptisms and weddings, the visitation of the sick and at funerals, he strove to let his speech be always seasoned with salt, and in his pastoral visits, which the great extent of the parish and its multifarious duties rendered only occasionally practicable, he would invariably dwell on religious and spiritual themes. Prayer-meetings and similar gatherings he did not encourage, deeming them of doubtful spiritual value, and not without danger. He would not interfere with them when they had been introduced and were productive of good, and considered them beneficial in rural districts, where great distance from the parish church seemed to need some such agency, without which country people

might otherwise grow wholly estranged from religious influence ; but he held it unwise to recommend them as means of conversion, chiefly because of their dangerous tendency to check independent action and interfere with the development of personal relationship to the Saviour, which he thought the peculiar vocation and privilege of a Christian (*Tages-Anbruch*, p. 203, sq. and *passim*).

He had a strong dislike of shams of every kind and form, and regarded private gatherings and conventicles as shams, so that persons who had a fondness for them did not feel attracted to Ebel, whose turn was eminently practical, and whose sole endeavor in social intercourse was to give it an ennobling and refining direction in the practice of virtue and holiness.

“ If we know Him, the heart revels in the peace which passeth all understanding, the soul breathes in an atmosphere of love, and the mind, sober and watchful in prayer, reflects in sunny clearness that wisdom from above which ‘ is first pure, then peaceable, gentle, and easy to be entreated, full of mercy and good fruits, without partiality and without hypocrisy.’ On that account cheerfulness and piety go hand in hand, and are necessarily united ; without cheerfulness you cannot have true piety, and without piety you cannot be truly cheerful. . . . It is very sad that men confound the unction of the spiritual life with the sullen and severe seriousness censured already in the Old Testament, and wholly incompatible with the temper of those who profess to be His followers, who said: ‘ But thou when thou fastest anoint thine head and wash thy face, that thou appear not unto men to fast,’ and justified the conduct of the disciples, saying, ‘ Can the children of the bride-chamber mourn as long as the bridegroom is with them ? but the days will come when the bridegroom shall be taken from them, and then shall they fast.’ These words may serve us likewise as a standard of joy and sorrow, for, truly, what

were heaven without a friend, and what were earth without one? So, then, everything depends upon this, that we have or have not that Friend. . . . It should be our highest aim to strive after joy in the Lord, 'for the joy of the Lord is our strength' (Neh. viii. 10). But I do not mean that sentimental form which causes men to talk of their dear Lord who have never felt His righteousness and strength in their own hearts. There is, nevertheless, a consecration in which a look at once noble and gentle, a speech mighty and gracious, like the lamb and the lion in harmony commingle. But it cannot be imitated or put on; it must spring into bloom from health within. And as all nature re-echoes joy and delight, provided it continue free from human desecration, so man is destined to regain his original consecration, to re-awake in the image of God that he may truly and eternally rejoice."

And yet in another place :

"That is not to worship God acceptably 'for a man to bow down his head as a bulrush,' as says the prophet (Is. lviii. 5). To what purpose are these seemingly devout attitudes? Let us avoid singularity of manner, speech, and conduct, but 'with well-doing put to silence the ignorance of foolish men' (1 Pet. ii. 15) 'that they may be ashamed that falsely accuse us' (*Ib.* iii. 16). Let every man look straight before him in simplicity; let him do what belongs to his vocation and ministry, cheerfully, honestly, and truly, without murmuring or doubt, for he that is faithful in that which is least is faithful also in much (St. Luke xvi. 10), provided that in everything there appear in an innocent life the reflection of pure nobility of soul."

'The principles to which Ebel reduces the whole subject are stated thus :

"Concerning joy and pleasure we say that God permits them; you know that, but you hardly know the full extent to which he permits them. Every endowment of our physical

and spiritual nature is capable of pleasure; the exertion of each and all may conduce to pleasure, so the name of pleasure is legion. But in the pursuit of pleasure we must take care that we neglect no duty to the detriment of others, and understand our interest and profit. For the faculties of sense, the pleasure of motion even under the accompaniment of sound, the pleasures of taste and smell are low enjoyments; the pleasures of the ear and the eye are somewhat nobler, especially where their exercise is associated with the imagination and other faculties of the soul. But enjoyment becomes higher and more exalted when the noblest activity of the senses effects a union with all the powers of the soul, especially the highest. For the activity of the understanding and the contemplations of reason are essentially joyful, though they should be misused for mere pastime or amusement; but if they bear their part in one grand harmonious whole, if heart and will assuring us without contradiction of our adoption and heavenly nobility in every act of self-conquest, in every pure and voluntary act of love—unite with it, and open the noblest part of our nature to refresh and delight us—who may then portray the ecstasy of joy that fills our being, and who would not desire that all men might soon attain this understanding in order to know the true nature of true joy."

CHAPTER V.

SCHÖNHERR AND FALSE FRIENDS.

THE characterization of Ebel's ministry at the Old-Town Church may be appropriately interrupted to make room for an important episode belonging to the year 1819, which culminated in his separation from Schönherr.

What Ebel owed to him, and how gratefully he acknowledged the obligation, has already been stated ; the points on which they agreed have also been pointed out ; those on which they differed have now to be narrated.

Their differences sprang from a different disposition. Schönherr was dogmatical, positive, impatient of contradiction, self-willed and self-righteous ; Ebel was receptive, tender-hearted, strong-minded, clear, amiable, yielding and humble. In all matters relating to personal inconvenience, involving self-denial, or the surrender of opinion without the sacrifice of principle, he would exhibit the most engaging and winsome disposition ; but in things pertaining to God, in matters of principle and conscience, whether they bore on doctrine or practice, he knew no compromise or submission ; his convictions, based on Holy Scripture and not adopted in formulas of party, had so thoroughly interpenetrated the whole texture of his nature, that they dominated in all his relations,

and stamped them with the impress of the purest Christianity ; in everything that departed from the precepts of Christ, conflicted with Christian doctrine, or was opposed to the highest ends of religion, his burning zeal for the honor of God and his quick, deep-searching, penetrating conscience would be the sole arbiter of choice, and compel his course. Not that he was hasty, for he was calm, cautious and deliberate ; or obstinate, for he was amiable ; or arbitrary, for he was fair ; no, conviction and a high sense of duty regulated his actions, and caused him to use all the weapons with which his tender, loving heart, his singularly clear mind and natural tact furnished him, to overcome opposition, and to correct error ; but the surrender of *conviction* he knew not and *could* not know.

It had not escaped his discriminating judgment that there was an element in Schönher's views, which savoured of self, and not of God ; which glaringly contradicted the spirit and precepts of Christ and His Apostles. The love of Christ was to Ebel the secret spring of the Christian life, and faith in His atonement the fundamental condition of the spiritual life.* Schönher, on

* “Such a view must not, and cannot make us proud ; the rather, he that knows that he is planted by God as a tree of righteousness to the praise of God, knows likewise that it is only a blessed *commencement*, deeply convinced that he must grow in all things, and seek in prayer the aid of Him who hath called him to a holy life, and hath forgiven his sins, entreating Him to grant him according to the riches of His glory to be strengthened with might by His spirit in the inner man (Eph. iii. 16) and to be zealous of good works (Tit. ii. 14). For our sense of obligation is determined by the measure of the grace we have received, as the Lord Himself declares it in St. Luke vii. 36-48, and this is really the solution of the great mystery of our salvation. There is *only* one motive power

the other hand, indulged in expressions which seemed to lessen the person of the Saviour and His atonement ; not that he denied their objective reality or in any way impugned it ; but he had somehow got astray in their bearing on practice, and labored under the hallucination that in some way he was an exception to the general rule, and stood in peculiar relations to the Father. His friends, and among them Ebel, were shocked at this pretension, and tried to reason with him, without avail.

of the moral life which strikes deep and incisively into our being, just as there is only *one* vital power which prompts our activity, and that power is *love* (for he that has ceased to love anything, thereby intimates his desire to cease living), and this power (for it *is* a power that affects the whole of our being, our will) had to be set in motion, in order to effect the permanent cure of the degenerated race from all its ailings, and to renovate and restore it to its original purity and rights. But only those do experience within themselves the wholesome effects of that power, who have come to their senses and have become conscious enough to be convinced of their sinfulness, and humble enough painfully and profoundly to feel it. And that which neither the mandate of duty from within with its '*thou shalt*,' was unable to achieve, nor the allurements of profit, nor the threat of punishment, nor the habit of legal observance—for all were unavailing to raise man from the abysmal depths of his spiritual misery—that *is* accomplished by actual *love*, which from the cross proclaims in tender accents : 'Thy sins are forgiven thee,' and prompts the resolution : 'Let us love Him, for He hath loved us first.' 'Beloved, if God so loved us, we ought also to love one another.' And lest in his difficult course we grow weary the same love revives our confidence, thus : 'He that spared not his own Son, but delivered Him up for us all, how shall He not with Him also freely give us all things?' (Rom. viii. 32). 'For I am not ashamed of the Gospel of Christ ; for therein is the righteousness of God revealed from faith to faith ; as it is written, The just shall live by faith' (ib. i. 16, 17)." *Tages Anbruch*, pp. 113-115.

There was this essential and radical difference in their views. Schönherr held that the *knowledge* of the truth was sufficient to accomplish the salvation of the world ; Ebel insisted that knowledge, though essential, did in itself not meet the exigencies of the case, and needed to be applied to practice, and in that application the help of divine grace. An all-important distinction, so clear and self-evident that its non-acceptance by so profound a thinker as Schönherr remains a psychological riddle. But that is exactly how the case stood, when a circumstance arose which needed positive action.

A certain Dr. Sachs, a Jew, a physician, and afterwards a professor in the University of Königsberg, had attended the ministry of Ebel, and desired him to instruct him in the principles of Christianity. Sachs, though a man of unusual intellectual ability, was essentially bad as to morals ; he was carnally-minded, dissolute, selfish, and cunning. So the event proved him, and as the record of his immorality has been established by judicial inquiry, no end of truth or justice could be furthered by withholding it from the knowledge of the reader. When he came to Ebel he feigned interest in religion ; but intercourse with him soon convinced the former that he was a slippery subject, by no means fit to be received into the church until he had stood the test of prolonged probation and given evidence of the sincerity of his motives by actual reformation. Schönherr knew Sachs, and regarded him differently from Ebel ; he requested the latter in his instruction to make him familiar with his own system, in the expectation that a man of Sachs' intellectual strength and metaphysical acumen needed only the knowledge of the truth, and that the rest would follow of its own accord. Ebel declined to

comply with his request, and insisted that Sachs must reform. Schönherr undertook to interfere in the matter, and, in a personal interview with Sachs, urged him unsuccessfully to adopt his system. The haughty manner in which Sachs met him he foolishly charged on Ebel, and resented accordingly. This brought about an estrangement which widened into a breach, induced by circumstances that require a somewhat longer explanation.

Schönherr had fallen into the erroneous and mischievous conceit that all persons who had once admitted the validity and tenability of any of his philosophical views were tacitly obliged blindly to receive *all* his dicta, which, in many respects, were simply preposterous. All reasoning on them, all counter-representations on the part of those whom he regarded as his disciples were useless, because he deemed them impertinences, and appeared to think that they must forever occupy the seat of learners, and he that of teacher. His sensitiveness on this point was painful in the extreme to his friends, who tried everything they could think of to convince him of the error of his positions. He could not but see and feel that his influence was waning, and that his authority was not recognized. To re-assert and re-establish it he communicated to his friends what he appeared to regard as a special revelation, that in order to make knowledge of saving efficacy Scripture seemed to intimate the necessity of some outward means of sanctification, and that means was—a peculiar kind of flagellation. His friends felt—and who can help feeling with them?—that, on that point, his intellect was at fault, and that they must leave no means untried to convince him of the absurdity and unscripturalness of so extraordinary an expedient. But

no amount of kindly expostulation, reasoning, and appeal to the Scriptures would make him abandon the position he had once taken. Contradiction and opposition only increased his infatuation and threw him into an excitement which sought and found expression in violent speech that rendered personal intercourse not only undesirable, but simply impossible.

To Ebel, the aberration and spiritual hallucination of his old friend was unspeakably painful, and he felt it his duty to define his own position, to bring him back to reason, and when every step in that direction had proved utterly useless, and there seemed no hope to eradicate this species of monomania (for monomania it was) from the deluded man, to break off all intercourse with him. And this he did in an exceedingly beautiful and touching letter, which is printed in Count Kanitz's *Aufklärung*.

If it be borne in mind that the deluded Schönherr, during the last sad years of his life, looked upon himself pretty much in the light of a favorite of heaven invested with infallibility, how could Ebel, as a conscientious minister and a friend, act otherwise than he did? He could not leave him without telling him why, and he would not tell him why he left him without telling him the truth, and how delicately, how kindly, and yet how firmly he discharged that duty is apparent from this brief extract :

“Dearest brother, you cannot be saved unless you become rooted and grounded in the faith. But you are not rooted and grounded therein; you lack humility and gentleness, which I trust may be vouchsafed to you. The resolution to surrender personal intercourse with you has been the hardest and sorest trial I ever experienced; I have placed the whole matter before God, and for long, weary months have

struggled and striven to find another solution, struggled as if it were with death, and reached a position in which all personal consideration and the promptings of my own will are set aside by the will of God in the clear perception of duty. . . . Therefore, dear brother, I cannot consent to a revival of our relations unless I have abundant assurance that you have attained to self-knowledge, and the pledge of my success in having convinced you of the error of your proposal. I cannot tell how soon or how late the joy may be in store for me of seeing you humbled at the feet of Christ, changed from one that exclaims, 'I thank thee, O God, that I am not as other men are !' into one that cries out, 'God be merciful to me a sinner !' But of this I am sure, that only in this change of disposition can peace enter our heart and bring rest to our soul ; that it is the only way to secure peace, and that even as I have found it in that way, so you must find it in the same manner and by the same means. O, my dear friend, beloved Schönherr, how do I yearn to be at one with you in heart and soul. Prayerfully, trustfully, I long with intensest longing for the coming of that time."

But all was in vain ; he proved deaf to every entreaty, and the breach was irreparable.

It is not certain that Schönherr even read the letter, for it was stated at the time that he burnt it unread ; but it is certain that it terminated all personal commerce between them. Separation was inevitable under the circumstances of the case, and unspeakably painful to Ebel, who really loved his misguided, deluded friend, continued to watch over him, and anonymously to minister to his necessities until he died in 1826.

The great sorrow caused by the lamentable aberration of his friend had to be borne, like all great sorrows, in resignation to the will of God, and did not in any way interfere with the ever-growing duties of his sacred call-

ing in so large a parish. To a man of his strength and noble spiritual calibre, in tender sympathy with suffering humanity, ready to spend himself and to be spent in the Master's service, the condition of the *poor*, and the amelioration of their state, afforded scope for the practical outgoings of his love. They flocked to him, and he loved to remember them for Jesus' sake. Of course, he gave the preference to the deserving poor, especially when he saw want in situations requiring tact and delicacy in the communication of relief. He would quietly provide himself, and induce others to provide for poor students books, apparel and board. Although it was his studious endeavor to discriminate among those who applied for relief, he would rather incur the charge of being too charitable than of running the risk of refusing a claim. His object was to prevent poverty from degenerating into pauperism or beggary, and as early as 1818, he founded in concert with a noble Christian lady, Frau von Auerswald, a charitable work called "Armenpflege," or "Care of the poor," the numerous members of which were philanthropists of both sexes, belonging to the higher and middle classes of society; the principles on which relief was administered to every form of misery were so admirable and beneficial that they were speedily adopted by a similar charitable association instituted by others. These principles were briefly: domiciliary visitation by judicious and kindly folk; the withholding of gifts from beggars until their case had been verified by personal investigation. The plan proved wonderfully successful, not only in the application of temporary relief, but in providing permanent means of support in the supply of appropriate work, and in giving their children a free education in schools specially arranged for the pur-

pose ; in that way the deserving poor were, by their own industry aided to comfortable circumstances, without the loss of self-respect. The whole enterprise was inspired by a loving zeal for the amelioration of the physical and moral condition of the poor, in which all the members sought to emulate each other in devising practical expedients for the accomplishment of their noble purpose. Poor mechanics were either presented with the tools of their trade, or loans of money were granted, enabling them to resume their trade ; and their children, if their ability warranted the measure, were cared for until they were qualified to enter the university. Another feature was the rigid requirement that applicants for relief should be truthful ; where relief had been secured on false pretence, it could not be repeated. It seemed wisdom to deal with them as parents deal with their children, making their manner of using the gifts they received the measure of their continuance. Relief at stated intervals was not accorded to any until they had given evidence of ability to husband their resources. The blessed influence of that "Armenpflege" on the morals of neglected youth was universally recognized. The interest exhibited by the lady members in the welfare of members of their own sex by teaching them the various branches of needlework found speedy appreciation in the founding of an Industrial School. It was in every sense a blessed work ; and Ebel, in concert with his friend Diestel, was instrumental in the establishment, at a somewhat later period, of Schools for the Poor.

He took the most lively interest in schools, and was always ready to aid in their prosperity and improvement ; for he loved youth ; and the way in which he explains his interest is as touching as it is simple :

“ ‘Suffer the little children to come unto me, and forbid them not, for of such is the kingdom of God.’ So He thought, adding: ‘Verily I say unto you, whosoever shall not receive the kingdom of God as a little child, he shall not enter therein ;’ that conveys a lesson to you which requires no further explanation. But if you wish to know the best method of training them for heaven learn once more from Him: ‘And He took them up in His arms, put His hands upon them and blessed them’ (St. Mark x. 14-16), for love is the fulfilment of the law.”

It was at his instance, in concert with Diestel, that a competent teacher was sent to England (with money provided for the purpose by Count Dönhoff), to study the Bell-Lancaster method, and to arrange the Schools for the Poor on their model.

The limits of his parish extended beyond the city, and embraced a rural district inhabited by a mixed population with a large sprinkling of poor people. The Common School System which provides a free education to the whole community, was until recently an essentially American institution. In Germany, where education is now compulsory, there was at the period in question much room for improvement, and “the school-money” was the great stumbling-block in the way of the poor to give their children a school education. In order to stimulate the love of the school among his country parishioners, he told them that if they would send their children regularly to school he would see that “the school-money” was paid; this told, and he further encouraged them by providing them with school-books and bibles. The school was at a considerable distance from the dwellings of a number of poor people, so that the scant clothing of the children presented another difficulty during

the intense cold of the winter months ; in order to overcome it, and to provide likewise for books, etc., he excited an interest in their condition among citizens of Königsberg who during the summer were in the habit to move to the *Hufen* (the rural district in question), and founded the *Hufen-Schul-Verein* (The *Hufen School Association*) with very satisfactory results. Thus in ameliorating the condition of the poor he likewise promoted a new source of happiness in the hearts of the wealthy.

Ebel's love of youth and interest in education were so intense that he was ever ready to assume new *voluntary* duties in that direction. There was, *e. g.*, a select private school for youth of both sexes, conducted by Director Ullrich, which justly enjoyed the reputation of great excellence, and was chiefly patronized by people of the highest culture, belonging to the best classes of society. His own children attended that school, and he undertook, in addition to his multifarious duties, to conduct the religious instruction in it, devoting to each department several hours a week, to the great and lasting spiritual benefit of the pupils, who almost worshipped their kind teacher and friend.

To a man of Ebel's make, social intercourse and the culture of friendship were unspeakably precious. On the subject of friendship this passage from "*Gediehliche Erziehung*," p. 110 sq., will be read with interest.

"A true friend is a great boon ; he that has one has a great treasure, and the friendship which Jesus offers us surpasses all the treasures of this world. But that friendship will prove a failure unless we co-operate with Him ; co-operation is necessary to its enjoyment, for friendship is a reciprocal relation. Inquire into its nature, reflect that it necessarily involves mutual confidence and mutual responses, and active

co-operation, and you will find the reason why this true friendship and the cheerfulness that follows in its train are so rarely met with ; why just the most spiritually-minded men are often, for that very reason, so ineffably unhappy ; why you yourself are sometimes so dejected and capricious. You cannot do violence to your nature without injury to yourself."

What he means is that the culture and promotion of true friendship is an oft-neglected element of our own happiness ; but if we joy in the possession of that true "friend that sticketh closer than a brother," of whose sympathy and unfailing help we are ever sure, we are blessed indeed. And the friendship of Jesus is, after all, the pattern of all earthly friendship.

Ebel had good cause to know the vast difference of mere earth-born friendship and friendship engendered by the love of Christ. It was his sad lot to be injuriously entreated by untrue friends, "who took sweet counsel together, and walked unto the house of God in company" (Ps. lv. 14), but his vastly greater felicity to be blessed with a number of true, devoted friends, of many a Jonathan who "loved him as his own soul" (1 Sam. xviii. 1), who clave to him with an intensity of attachment rarely met with, and perhaps never eclipsed, as I shall have occasion to show in the sequel. Magnanimity was one of his shining virtues ; he loved to expatiate on the excellencies of men, to rehearse and publish their acts of kindness, and to cover with the mantle of his love their shortcomings and the injuries they had inflicted.

He was fond of congenial society, and encouraged social gatherings, not of the trivial, unprofitable sort, not for gossip and that into which gossip so often degene-

rates, censoriousness and slander, but gatherings designed for higher and nobler ends. It was not so much the discussion of persons as of things, of specific topics relating to the grand and passing events of the period, with duties springing from them, for immediate use and application in the outward relations of life, but chiefly and supremely as bearing on the culture of the soul.

He had come in direct contact with the very best people at Königsberg in every sense of the word ; there were the Auerswalds and Schrötters, who led society ; the head of the Auerswald circle was the governor of the province, and the venerable Schrötter its chancellor. Their very position indicated the highest social rank and intellectual superiority, and when they began to encourage the indefatigable zeal of the eloquent, soul-stirring preacher of the Old-Town Church by cultivating intimate social relations with him, they encouraged and fostered a new spirit that entered and animated the whole complex of society. The soul of the new spirit was Ebel, ever prompting and stimulating the noblest purposes. It was an unheard-of thing in those days that topics of religion were not only tolerated but deliberately started on festal occasions. A spirit of earnest inquiry had entered into the minds of men, and prompted expression when they assembled in numbers. It must not be imagined that festal assemblies were metamorphosed into religious gatherings, or that religious themes were thrust upon reluctant ears. It was nothing of the kind ; it was the spontaneous utterance of deep heart-yearnings. Groups of ladies and gentlemen would discuss with great earnestness the momentous themes of renovation and the destiny of man, and bystanders would take part in the discussion. Even young people would debate such matters,

and on one occasion when the venerable Chancellor and an old lady of his acquaintance had attentively followed their interesting conversation, the latter exclaimed, surprised : “ Just to think of the topics our youth now select for discussion in public ; who would ever have thought of such a thing when *we* were young ! ” to which the former replied with great warmth : “ Nobody ; but it is beautiful ! ”

One of the topics of the times, of profound interest to the most thoughtful, was the establishment of the kingdom of God upon earth. It was presented one day by Ebel before a select circle in the Chancellor’s house, with his usual vivacity and earnestness, and as he portrayed the felicity of its establishment and adduced passage upon passage from the Word of God, the venerable Schrötter, profoundly moved, held out his hand to him and said : “ Would that I might rise to enjoy that blissful time ! ”

It is very natural that the intimate friends of Ebel were persons of an intellectual and spiritual turn. The manner in which this social element sprang into being and became developed is stated best in his own words :

“ I had resolved to obey God and be an honest teacher. In this spirit I preached and met those who entered into the spirit of Christianity and sought me for counsel and encouragement. In that way a few became my intimate friends. Every clergyman is bound first to attend to his own soul, and then to urge upon his people the same culture. Those who feel that want, and are responsive to the word of exhortation, naturally seek intercourse with their pastor, and there must be in all congregations, served by truly honest pastors, a small band of such persons, who are, as it were, the salt of the congregation, in whom a truly Christian life, based on mutual union, develops according to the peculiar wants and qualifications of each individual. Where such is not the case the

flock is asleep and the pastor spiritually dead. The ministry is not a trade, in which sermons and official acts are dispatched by the hour ; a preacher must strive to infuse into his congregation, and, as far as his influence goes, into his time, an ennobling spirit. I have striven to foster such a spirit in my congregation and in this city, with the result that certain persons advanced to a higher plane of the Christian life and came into more intimate relations to me."

As these persons happened to occupy likewise a very high social position, the commanding influence of Ebel was peculiarly obnoxious to other clergymen who did not and could not wield it themselves, and laid him open to the approaches of self-seekers, who sought to further their own private ends by pretended sympathy with his views, so largely shared by very influential and prominent members of society, with whom they hoped to become connected in the charmed circle that had gathered round Ebel.

Of that make were three persons in particular, to whom I must now refer. The first, Dr. Sachs, has already been mentioned. Ebel penetrated him from the start as a man of very dubious morality, and hesitated a considerable time before he received him into the church, but when under his instruction he awoke to better self-knowledge and vowed amendment, Ebel felt it his duty to comply with his earnest request to admit him, his wife, and a young child by baptism into the church. Sachs had chosen as his sponsors Count and Countess Kanitz, two intimate friends of Ebel, and endowed with a rare combination of intellectual strength and culture as well as of the purest Christian goodness of heart ; they were truly pure in heart, and as good and kind as they were pure. As I have read their life, and have had oppor-

tunity to know how they thought and felt, I feel constrained to say that their lives exhibited many of the graces mentioned in the beatitudes, and their love much of what St. Paul beautifully delineates in 1 Corinthians xiii. The Sachs family was baptized in 1818, and the doctor numbered among his patients not only Ebel and Kanitz, but a large number of their friends and acquaintance ; and, if he had been a true man and not a dissembler, it would not have become necessary on their part to sunder their relations with him. But he was incorrigible, and his course so notorious and scandalous that, after every attempt had failed to effect his true reformation, they were obliged, after seven years of endurance, to dismiss him in 1825.

The second person in question was Professor Herrmann Olshausen, the commentator, who, in the autumn of 1821, came to Königsberg, and felt much interested in Ebel's preaching. After attending his ministry for eight or nine months he came into nearer relations with him, "and heard," as he expresses it, "earnest exhortations to a holy, self-denying life in his circle." He also was a self-seeker, and, I am sorry to say, a contemptible individual ; this will be shown in the sequel, and is proved in "*Die Liebe zur Wahrheit*," Standpunkt, p. liii. sqq. For the present the statement must suffice that he did not frequent Ebel's church because he really sympathized with him, although he pretended such sympathy for several years, but because he hoped that the connection with Ebel and his influential friends might facilitate his promotion to a professorship.

The third person was a theological student of the name of Tippelskirch, who, early orphaned, had found a home in the family of Count Kanitz, and received there, as well

as at the hands of Ebel, an unmeasured amount of good. He was an unruly and unmanageable boy, who needed the most careful and watchful oversight, but it seemed that the excellent ministrations of Kanitz and Ebel had so far borne good fruit, that the latter especially felt hopeful that the instruction preparatory to his confirmation would deepen his religious convictions. But when he attended the university he fell into bad and dissolute ways, and years passed on before he returned to seriousness. In the year 1822, however, he began to change and yield to the good advice of his kind friends with gratifying results, as far as his outward behavior was concerned. It was now his interest, as he clearly perceived, to re-establish their good opinion and to work himself into their confidence and friendship. And they were only too glad to welcome the prodigal, and put coals of fire on his head in the hope that love would carry the day. It was misplaced, for he had added to his other failings the vice of duplicity.

Matters stood thus until a change in the provincial governorship took place in 1824, when von Auerswald was retired and von Schön appointed in his stead. The latter was as inimical to religion as the former had been in favor of it. Schön was not only irreligious, but an unscrupulous and unprincipled man. A single, but most glaring instance, may suffice to substantiate this statement. He had been married to a daughter of his predecessor, who died in 1807; another daughter, Eveline Ernestine, had married the Rural Councillor von Bardeleben. She had been awakened to religious convictions by Ebel, and was a noble-minded and devoted Christian. When Schön heard of it he began to resent it by denouncing her as a fanatic and a sectarian to her own

husband, and so worked upon his mind that, after sixteen years of a happy married life, he induced that husband to seek a divorce, which, with the laxity of the Prussian code on that subject, was obtained. But that was not all ; in his hatred of Christianity he tore from that poor and almost frantic wife her only daughter, and very soon afterwards gave one of his own daughters in marriage to the very man who, at his instance and through his instrumentality, had been divorced from his wife. These revolting facts may be read at length in the following works : “*Ein Blick auf die einstige Stellung der Oberpräsidenten Auerswald und Schön*,” etc., by E. E. von Bardeleben ; “*Die Liebe zur Wahrheit*,” by Ida Gräfin von der Gröben (sister of the former), and Kanitz’s “*Aufklärung*.” Schön hated all religion, and was utterly heathenish in his views and his practice ; he had not the faintest idea of Christianity beyond the instinctive feeling that it is the funeral toll of paganism and pagans like himself ; he hated Ebel and his teaching, and all that consorted with him or frequented his ministry, for no other reason than that the purity of the preacher and the translucent character of his doctrine set his own conduct and character in so unenviable a light. He was determined to crush out Ebel and his teaching, and how he set to work will now be told.

The Old-Town Church, in which Ebel ministered, has been referred to in a previous chapter. How his popularity was regarded by most of the clergy who abominated his doctrine has likewise been abundantly illustrated ; the animus of the Deputation also will be remembered ; that Body desired above all things to get rid of Ebel, and had tried ineffectually to compass their purpose. Now it so happened that the government officer charged with

the inspection of all public buildings was inimical to the theology of Ebel, and it was thought that with the advent of Schön something might be done which would effectually check, if not completely destroy the growing influence of the preacher of grace. And that something was nothing less than the demolition of the venerable church, which for more than five centuries had stood firm under the gnawing tooth of time, in spite of a slight inclination of the tower, which for centuries had been measured every fifty years in order to determine whether the angle of inclination was growing. But as each successive technical examination showed that the angle remained unchanged, experts had reached the conclusion that the settling dated from the erection of the structure, and that the slight deviation from the perpendicular was not by any means dangerous. But the said inspector condemned the structure as early as 1823, and would have rased it, if he could have had his own way in the matter. But Governor Auerswald, to whom the congregation referred it, was too just a man to yield to the arbitrary demand of a single individual, and at their instance, procured from Berlin a commission of experts, acting under the highest authority in the State, who upon thorough examination, negatived the inspector's proposal, and recommended, in order that no precautionary measure might be neglected, an alteration in the roof on one of the gable ends, which the congregation caused immediately to be made. While the repairs were going on the church was closed for service, which had to be conducted in other church edifices. But the inspector dis-regarding the decision of his superiors, would not allow the church to be opened for worship after the repairs had been made with a heavy expenditure to the congregation,

whose finances were in a crippled condition ; he was interposing all sorts of objections and official chicanery in order to accomplish his purpose. At this juncture Schön arrived in 1824, and he and the inspector agreed upon a plan to accomplish the work of demolition. One of Schön's first official acts was an order directing the authorities of the Old-Town Church to pull down the condemned edifice within a fortnight. "There were churches enough," he said, "in Königsberg, and as the congregation was too poor to build a new one, it had better be dissolved." The work of demolition was indeed temporarily arrested by the representation of experts that a much longer space of time was needed to take down the beautiful organ, one of the finest in Germany, and the energetic opposition of the congregation at whose request a second commission was sent from Berlin, to report upon the condition of the building. But in spite of their report, supported by other persons of influence, that the alleged fears of the inspector were unfounded, and that there was no danger, the hostile element succeeded in getting an order from the Supreme Building Commission at Berlin requiring the church to be closed for a year, during which time careful observations were to be made to determine the possibility of its continuance. The inspector pursued a most extraordinary plan in conducting that observation. There was a particular pillar, which he had pronounced defective, and in order to ascertain whether his position was tenable, he caused the ground to be dug away from the pillar on all sides to a depth at which it stood entirely in water, and was wholly without support ; the result of this unique examination was, of course, inevitable ; the pillar finally gave way, the whole edifice became crazy, and the work of

demolition became an imperative necessity. The pagan Schön had accomplished his purpose as far as the destruction of that beautiful edifice was concerned, but beyond that he could not go at the time, for Ebel, though compelled to officiate in a church at a greater distance, had the satisfaction to see his congregation follow him there, and to become more devotedly attached to him than before.

Trouble, like misery, loves company. About the same time, the Ministerium for Ecclesiastical Affairs at Berlin issued a Circular Rescript addressed to all the Consistories of the Prussian Monarchy, warning them against Mysticism, Pietism and Separatism, and requesting special attention to the matter in filling vacancies in churches and schools. This Rescript became known at Königsberg early in 1826, and one evening at the house of Count Kanitz, Ebel referring to it, told Olshausen and Tippelskirch that it was an inimical document, designed, among other things, to strike a blow at evangelical Christianity. There was no doubt that their theological opponents, aided by Schön, would leave no stone unturned under the authority of that edict to hurt the cause of true religion ; that a period of probation was about to begin, and he deemed it his duty to tell them that, if they elected to stay with him, their worldly prospects might be injured, and it became them now to determine whether they would leave him and escape the persecution which remaining with him was sure to entail ; if they felt that their intimate relations had better cease, he hoped that it might not affect their friendship for him, assuring them that he would not on that account withdraw his affection from them. Their manner of receiving the intelligence was embarrassed and shuffling, and lacked sincerity ; it was

the first intimation of their defection, and Ebel, who would hardly have spoken to them as he did, if he had felt quite sure of them, penetrated their motives that night, and the event showed that he had not wronged them. But their separation was not effected in the spirit recommended by Ebel ; that would not have done ; it would have proclaimed to all the world their selfishness and time-serving ; it would have been a public declaration that as long as the friendship of Ebel was profitable to them they adhered to him and were his enthusiastic admirers and devoted followers, and that at the first indication of his waning power in influential quarters they had abandoned him. That would have unmasked them and proclaimed them unprincipled. So they preferred playing the hypocrite a little longer, and cast about for an excuse designed to justify their conduct in the eye of the public. The Ministerial Rescript seemed to foreshadow the proper policy leading to preferment ; it had sounded the alarm about separatistic tendencies ; the majority of the Königsberg Clergy, the Consistorium, and the Governor were notoriously inimical to Ebel's theology, branding it as heretical and sectarian. If it could be made out that Ebel was a sectary, and they opposed to his sectarian tendencies, they would accomplish two things : first, give a plausible and seemingly meritorious explanation of their separation from him, and secondly, secure the favor of those opposed to Ebel, who in virtue of their influence might help them to preferment. That was their plan and policy, and Olshausen set to work to give it shape. So he wrote a long letter addressed to Ebel, in which he told him that it was impossible for him any longer to submit to a hierarchical guardianship, the authority whereof, lacking as it did the signs of an im-

mediate or direct revelation, he was constrained to call in question; that the absorption of his own (O.'s) individuality in that of Ebel was a thing not to be borne, more especially as he thought that in Ebel's "direction of souls misleading elements were neither avoided in practice, nor in the principles underlying it." If the reader is at a loss to understand this vague language, which, if intended to conceal thought, might have been written by Talleyrand, he may console himself in the thought, that it was just as unintelligible to Ebel and his friends, who could construe it only one way, namely, that it meant desertion and treachery, and base treachery, for his true motive was to ingratiate himself into the favor of influential persons inimical to Ebel, who on that account might reward him.

This is quite clear from the express language of Tippekskirch, who undertook to deliver this letter to Ebel, with the tenor of which he professed to agree, to this effect, "that there was nothing to prevent the continuance of his friendly relations to Ebel and his friends, and to walk with them in what he felt constrained to describe as a Christian way of excellent conscientiousness and purity, but the circumstance that they had not been publicly authenticated, for he could not possibly expect the ecclesiastical authority to advance him to a position if he were to maintain friendly relations with Ebel," etc. As this statement is in writing, and forms part of officially accepted evidence, it is not necessary to enlarge upon it, although it is quite pertinent to corroborate the assertion by the testimony of the judicial officer charged with the official inquiry, also accepted as evidence that "it is universally known that Ebel and Olshausen were until 1826 on terms of intimate friendship.

In that year they separated, and as public opinion delivers it, solely and entirely because Olshausen thought thereby to secure a professorship in the university."

The unimpeachable statement of my late friend, Count Kanitz, may conclude the record of so painful an incident :

"It is impossible to convey to those who did not participate in these events, an idea of the icy insincerity with which the said Olshausen and Tippelskirch suddenly dropped the mask of hypocrisy, after they had for months feigned the most ardent friendship, while they were working out their plan, and in lieu of their pretended recognition of Ebel's Christian experience, rose up to teach and preach to him, who, by their own confession, had taught them to find the way to Christ. This conduct, doing violence to all human feeling, was regarded by Ebel with forgiving and forgetting love, in which he refused to see anything but a straying aside, and for which he strove to find extenuating circumstances and excuses."

What a contrast, and how beautiful in the light of those occurrences, followed by infinitely worse, are these words from a letter of Ebel to his friend, Professor Rogge, of Tübingen, dated Jan. 2, 1827 :

"Just think, dear August, since the last communion the Friend above has so entirely taken possession of and filled my heart, that I can only exult and praise His grace, and in that grace feel the tenderest love for those who have offended me. Oh ! that does me good ! Love them too, and do not give place to the feeling that thou art not able to call Herrmann 'Brother.' The only consolation is, that *we* do not let them go."

CHAPTER VI.

NOBLE CHRISTIANS.

THOUGH, from the nature of the case, chronological order could not be strictly observed in the chapters characterizing the ministry of Ebel, it has been followed in the main. In order to understand what follows it is now necessary to explain the social religious life in the Old-Town Church and to supply a portraiture of the most prominent persons.

The cultivation of the social life of a congregation is an acknowledged factor of ministerial usefulness, and every clergyman understands that much of his success depends on its proper conduct. There are likewise, especially in large congregations, persons drawn to each other by common interest as to habits of life and thought, and certain degrees of culture, refinement and station. The common interest of the members of the Old-Town Church was a strongly marked and positively pronounced spirituality, and a distinct recognition of the hallowing power of the religion of Jesus in all the relations of life, and seeing that these distinctively Christian views were far from general in society at Königsberg, they felt the necessity of drawing nearer to each other in an informal manner at gatherings, which differed from ordinary social gatherings, in that it was agreed by them to substitute for the conventional dance, card-playing and unprofitable

gossip, the discussion of rational subjects, of scientific, philosophical, theological and general interest, and to diversify matters by the introduction of music and the reading of instructive essays and books. It was a delightful circle in every respect. Ebel was the centre round whom they grouped, but as his versatile genius has been sufficiently described in the preceding chapters, and as the reader can readily form his own judgment from the particulars already furnished, I need not dwell here at greater length on his eminent social graces and inspiring influence. There was the Rev. Georg Heinrich Diestel, pastor of the Haberberg Church, an intimate and devoted friend of Ebel, a devout, noble-minded, lion-hearted man, through and through convinced of the inherent power of the Gospel, and animated by indomitable zeal, earnestness and courage. He and Ebel were very old friends, and although he had always been a sound man, *i. e.* not a rationalist, the precepts, the teaching and the living example of the latter, according to his own testimony,* had deepened and strengthened his personal relations to Christ. Brought up in the school of Herbart, he abandoned the inconsistencies of that philosophy, and rooted his own in that of the Bible. A single sentence may suffice to characterize the man :

“Truth bears testimony to itself, and scorns all other demonstrations. As the sun needs no demonstration that he is light and not darkness, so truth needs no other demonstration than that of its own existence ; but as the sun shines only to those who see and are awake, and not to those who are blind and asleep, so truth likewise shines only to those who are receptive for it.”

* *Mahnwort*, p. 99.

His was an eminently metaphysical turn, and he understood to state the keenest analysis in clear, incisive and singularly open language. He was a thoroughly practical Christian, a warm personal friend and a charming companion, intensely musical, and his compositions both solemn and hilarious possessed great merit. A piece of his composing on Psalm cxviii., arranged for four voices with his accompaniment on the piano is pronounced by good judges as something wondrously beautiful ; the same applies to Psalm cxxvi.

Ernst Wilhelm, Count of Kanitz,* the true and devoted friend of Ebel, was truly a nobleman in the best acceptation of the term. As he was his oldest friend, and survived him upwards of eight years, so he remained his friend unto death and beyond it, as will appear hereafter. He was a native of Königsberg, highly educated, an eminent jurist, a gallant soldier, and last, not least, a consistent, devoted Christian, an ornament of society, and a bright and shining light of the Old-Town Church, while he was there, and of the Church of Christ, wherever he was. An obituary notice, printed in the *Neue Preussische Zeitung*, Berlin Dec. 24, 1869, and written by an anonymous friend, contains this summary of his character :

“Whoever knew the departed will recall with feelings of delight the modest dignity of his earthly conversation, and—as the manner of the Spirit is—the silent energy of his powerful working. To practise love, to prepare joy to others, and to do good was his vital breath (Athemholen). When in the exercise of justice he had to administer rebuke, or punish wrong where it had to be resisted, like a genuine disciple of Jesus, he never fell from humility and gentleness. The inscription on his tomb : ‘The Lord is risen indeed,’ indicates and characterizes the strength of his faith.”

* See p. 121.

Fortiter in re, suaviter in modo was Kanitz, an admirable companion, sparkling in conversation, overflowing with a fund of the most varied attainments, and not only receptive to whatever was good and beautiful, but communicative of the same, a man of exquisite taste (he was a painter)* and unbounded hospitality. He was married twice. His first wife, Minna von Derschau, a lady of the noblest and purest make, goodness personified, living, moving and having her whole being in God, is described by all who knew her, as a most devoted Christian, enriched with peculiar attractions and graces, intellectual and otherwise, a messenger of goodness, an angel of mercy among the sick and poor, one of the brightest gems in the diadem of the Old-Town Church. She died after only two years' marriage, a youthful mother, in the thirty-first year of her life, universally beloved and regretted; ten days later her precious babe joined her in paradise, just as if he had heard the mother's call and hastened to her embrace. Her sister, who lived with the Count, when he died (her own death occurred nine years later), like all the members of the Derschau family, was an exemplary Christian; and it was one of the privileges enjoyed by the writer, to number that noble lady among his correspondents. Kanitz's second wife, Charlotte Countess Fink von Finkenstein, an intimate and obliged friend of Minna, married him in 1827, and humility was one of the predominant traits of that highly gifted, charitable and generous Christian lady. Of her humility perhaps the most striking illustration is her life-long endeavor to keep green the cherished memory of

* I have in my possession some beautiful specimens of his genius, flowers painted from nature in Italy, Sicily and the Tyrol; they are exquisite.

the sainted first Countess ; she always thought of and for others, and never for herself ; a most gracious and hospitable hostess, loving and delighting to render all—and their name is legion—that crossed her threshold happy, bountiful in providing for the bodily and intellectual wants of her guests, indefatigable in labors of love, and uniting with her noble husband in countless benefactions. Such were Count and Countess von Kanitz ; the good Count likewise was my friend and correspondent.

Of Auerswalds I have already spoken in general terms. A few additional details appear to be in place here, and will be found of interest. The head of this noble family was the Landhofmeister and Oberpräsident (*i. e.*, the Provincial Governor) von Auerswald, a name which at Königsberg, and throughout Prussia, has a golden ring ; he was a most excellent, patriotic public officer, universally beloved and respected, and his fame in all these and so many other respects is so well known in the annals of history, that no words of mine are needed to repeat here what everybody knows ; but it is not generally known, that during the years of Germany's great degradation, 1806-1809, king Friedrich Wilhelm III., Louise his queen, and her children, the late king Friedrich Wilhelm IV., and the present Emperor of Germany lived with Auerswalds in the Castle of Königsberg, and that thus the latter became the personal friends of the Auerswald children. All the Auerswalds were friends of Ebel, but signally and singularly so the two daughters, Eveline Ernestine von Bardeleben, and Ida, Countess von der Gröben. These two noble ladies were, under the teaching of Ebel, brought to the knowledge of Jesus, and two more devoted women, in doing and suffering, have seldom lived. The sad trials of the former have already been

alluded to,* how through the influence of the pagan Schön her husband cruelly discarded her. Her parents were then no more on earth, but the truth that God never forsakes His people was beautifully illustrated in her experience. The sainted Mrs. Chancellor von Schrötter, another saint on earth in Ebel's church, gave her a home, and tenderly nursed her and provided for all her wants, until in 1845 she went out of great tribulation into the rest that remaineth for the people of God. Of Mrs. von Schrötter and her family, something will be said presently.

But it is especially her sister Ida, Countess von der Gröben, who claims our attention in a peculiar measure. Of the noble array of Christians in that extraordinary congregation, already likened to a diadem, Countess Ida was the pearl. Beautiful in person, mind and soul, embodied truth and goodness, to see and know was to love her. Quick in perception and learning, studious and a student, she was simply a marvel for intelligence and versatile attainments. Thoroughly educated, her studies ranged through realms of thought and information rarely traversed by ladies. She was a theologian and a metaphysician of no mean order (and no man who has read her *Liebe zur Wahrheit* will dispute it, or ever open Olshausen's Commentary again), an excellent classic, her soul was steeped in music, and she had the gift of a sweet, melodious voice ; she was a poet born, and the posthumous volume of her poems is equal to any of the kind in the German tongue ; her poems on the Church Seasons remind me of Keble in thought and expression, others of Cowper for tenderness, and for the love of

* See pp. 123-124.

nature of Wordsworth (of none of whom she ever saw or read a line), and they are one and all as fine as gold, pure as a crystal fountain, reflecting the truth, the love, the goodness and purity of her God-devoted soul. In Appendix C will be found two or three of her briefer pieces ; they must stand as they are in German, to be translated by a Christian poet kin to the author in genius and feeling. She was also an exquisite hand at drawing. Early schooled in sorrow, for her husband, William Count von der Gröben, First Lieutenant of the East Prussian Cuirassiers, fell near Gross Görschen, 1813, and she returned, a youthful widow, to her parents, and through the influence of Ebel, who was their pastor, her heart and soul, her work and life, were consecrated to the service of Jesus. This child of God was of medium height and noble carriage, light brown hair covering a noble forehead, her regular features, beautiful complexion, heightened by a tint of delicate red in the cheeks, and animated by the profound earnestness of her innocent, deep blue and true eyes were accompanied by loveliness, a sweet voice, vivacity and dignified engaging manners. Her intimate surviving friend, who knew and loved her better than any one, communicated to me two years ago the following passages from the biography of the Electress Louise von Brandenburg (author of the famous hymn, *Jesus Meine Zuversicht* *), which in her opinion are an exact portraiture of the character of the Countess Ida : "Like a peculiar, choice and great blessing she had entered the house and the country—and like a continuous, ever new blessing, she worked on in the house and the country—and all

* See Appendix C.

the blessings she dispensed, all the happiness which went out from her to others, and all the loveliness with which she conquered and won the hearts of men were solely founded on and welled forth from her living faith which united her to her Saviour. Outwardly and inwardly she lived in the grace of the Lord ; she had laid hold of Him, and would not let Him go.” Other particulars concerning this excellent lady will be found below.

Edward von Hahnenfeld, likewise an intimate and Christian friend of Ebel, of long standing, was a nobly-minded man. Early orphaned, he was sent to a *Pension* in Königsberg, where he was roughly treated ; the only sunny days of his gloomy youthful existence were the Sundays and other days spent with the Auerswald children. Ebel befriended him, for he was his pupil at Frederic College, and took a warm interest in his welfare. On the day of his confirmation the Governor desired his daughter, the Countess Ida, to go to church in order that there might at least be one person present there who went on his account. After that solemn service young Hahnenfeld kindly asked the Countess, his senior in years, to write, in memory of the occasion, something in his album, and she wrote these words : “Follow me, saith Christ our Leader.” These words he cherished as a guide star through life. He was an exceedingly kind and well-informed, sagacious gentleman, of great urbanity, and a delightful companion. He married Miss Zeline von Mirbach, a lovely and high-toned, highly cultivated and very intellectual young lady. Both he and his wife were alive to everything that was good and noble. In his country seat at Grunenfeld Ebel lived from 1842 to 1848, of which more will be said hereafter.

There was Baron Ernest von Heyking, from whose manuscript many of the earlier portions of this volume have been drawn, an out-and-out, spiritually-minded, highly intellectual and devoted Christian. Refinement, sincerity and earnestness, allied to a cheerful, urbane and amiable disposition, made him beloved by all who felt the outgoings of his gentle, sympathetic nature. He had studied law, and wielded a facile pen. His manuscript is beautifully written, and the matter is excellent, a model of analysis and clearness of statement, couched in language of classical purity and finish. He died very young.

The Schrötter family has already been mentioned.* The venerable Chancellor von Schrötter and his wife and children were most refined and exemplary Christians. Their hospitality and benevolence exhaled the purest Christian devotion. Their daughter Emilie, the most intimate friend of Countess Ida, has been described by her as a most lovely, an almost perfect Christian. She died very early (in the twenty-eighth year of her life), after a life spent in offices of love. Of the quality of her head, culture, and heart the following exquisite extract from her memoranda in manuscript may serve as a sample :

“What is knowledge, and what its origin ? In reflecting on a thing it is chiefly the *head* that is exercised, and mostly in a state of confusedness, in which the thoughts, crossing hither and thither, are hindered from clearness until they fall into order and collect in a focus, in virtue of which, as it were, a spark appears, emitting a luminous beam on the subject of our thought, and enabling us clearly to cognize it. And this takes place after this wise : A tissue of nerves, having

* See p. 119.

their principal seat in the brain, covers the body, and any nerve, wherever touched, conveys the intelligence to the brain, causing us thereby to obtain cognizance of the object touching. These impressions passing into knowledge affect us both outwardly and inwardly, seeing that beams of spiritual light incessantly act upon and influence the inner man.

“This influence is not uniform, but conditioned by our position and the time in which we live.

“Man resembles a musical instrument, and as every instrument emits its peculiar, distinctive quality of sound, so every man, in virtue of his congenital disposition, possesses properties distinctively his own, causing him to differ from others, to excel in one thing, to be deficient in another.

“In this comparison, our impressions influencing us outwardly and inwardly resemble the melodies played on the instrument. Our inward corruption is the cause that the notes are indistinct, or sound wrong and impure; they also die away with the suspension of the efficient cause, for they are not yet our own, and we soon forget what we knew and expressed; it is even possible that, after some time, a foreign and hostile spirit causes them to produce altogether different melodies.

“Though man cannot impart to himself knowledge, yet, through our own fault, much remains dark which we might know, and we often neglect the duty of becoming clearly assured of what we know (*gewiss-wissen*). Others may tell us much, and to systematize and collect that much is the province of the learned.

“Turning to God, however, is the sole help to truly profitable knowledge, in prayer, that the beams of His light may become fixed within us, and this turning is the effect of free will.

“*What is to will?* The seat of the will is the heart; the blood intimately connected with the nerves pours into the heart, the principal organ of life, and its duly regulated turning and motion is the time of the spiritual melody within. For, as in a musical instrument, time stays the sounds on the

sounding-board, regulating their resonance in audible sounds and melodies, so the turning of the will in the constant direction of its surrender to God is necessary to render possible the staying of the Divine Spirit within us, whose focal light may grow so intense as to enable us clearly to see true knowledge and the revelation of the Bible, as is evident from the example of the truly enlightened.

“ This keeping time is in some persons facilitated by their being naturally musical, but on that account not yet assured; it really amounts to only a wish, for in temptation they get out of time, and they cannot keep it truly until, by free choice in the work of their regeneration, by effort and self-denial, it becomes their second nature, their own, enabling them to indicate the reasons, as they understand the harmonious connection of the spiritual world. This keeping time . . . is the fundamental trait of their recovery, with their entire surrender to God, and their happiness from being illuminated through and through.”

The mother of that singularly-gifted maiden lived to a happy old age (she died in her ninetieth year), and never wearied in well-doing, utterly unselfish, and extending her benefactions beyond her death, one only ceased with the death of one of her beneficiaries a few months ago. Whatever was good, and noble, and lovely, and of good report, whatever tended to elevate, improve, and refine entered into and constituted the atmosphere of the Schrötter home at Königsberg.

Charles Count of Münchow, a sturdy noble-minded Pomeranian, brought up in the fear of God, did not permanently live at Königsberg, but had been for many years a warm personal friend of Ebel. In his fourteenth year he entered the army as an officer, and served with great distinction in the campaigns against Napoleon, and was decorated with the iron cross in token of his bravery;

he was an intimate and life-long friend of Count Kanitz, who, it will be remembered, served with equal distinction in the same wars. His military record in the service of his king cannot be detailed in these pages, but his much longer and enduring service as a soldier of Christ, must be put on record here. He was a consistent, honest, straightforward and outspoken man, who abhorred everything merely formal, and simulating the religion of Jesus, which to him was a reality imposing the ceaseless renovation and sanctification of the Christian in all his relations ; the one thing needful to him was to tread the narrow way in the imitation of Christ, to discharge his duty to God and to man in faith and self-denial—and this, he said, “was and is the end and tendency of my friendly commerce with Dr. Ebel and some kindred minds ; and this the sum-total of his teachings, advice, and luminous example, I have made the end of my life.”*

He sent his two daughters to Königsberg to be prepared for confirmation. These excellent ladies continue to follow in the footsteps of their sainted parents. One of them is unmarried, the other is married to Herr von Woldeck, and it is delightful to state that his family is of the Christian stamp. Count Münchow, the last of his name, finished his warfare in 1860, and Ebel wrote to his widow (who followed him four years later) and daughters : “We hope that the name of Münchow, by whomever borne, is written in the book of life ;” and in his own journal : “On Sept. 26, 1860, Count Münchow completed his course. ‘They that have walked in uprightness shall enter into peace.’ ” (Is. lvii. 2, Luther’s version.) †

* *Aufklärung*, pp. 276-7.

† See also p. 203.

Speaking of military men, I must not forget to mention the old and heroic Lieutenant-General von Larisch (who had served under Frederic the Great) and his two children, Captain Wilhelm von Larisch and Floribelle his sister. They were most exemplary Christians. The first once said to his children in quaint and touching humility: "Children dear, if you see me do anything which you think is not pleasing to God, I want you to tell me of it; you must not think it improper because I am your father, for I don't want to be your father for such a purpose." Captain Larisch, though a brave soldier, deemed it his greatest felicity to cultivate the friendship of the Prince of Peace; both he and his sister died young; they were members of Ebel's congregation, conspicuous for their purity of life.

The last in the number of Ebel's most intimate and devoted friends to be named here is Mrs. Consentius, a very remarkable Christian lady. At the beginning of this century, when her husband still lived at Memel, the merchant prince of that place, the fugitive king of Prussia, Friedrich Wilhelm III., and Louise, his queen, found a loving home in their hospitable mansion, and the relations of queen Louise and Mrs. Consentius were those of tender friendship. She moved, chiefly on Ebel's account, to Königsberg about the beginning of the third decade of this century, and her home, like Schrötter's and Kanitz's, was another spiritual, intellectual and Christian centre at Königsberg.

These people, and many others who for want of space cannot be enumerated by name, constituted the spiritual, as they were also by culture and station, the social *élite* of Königsberg, and an account of them was necessary to explain not only the envy of other clergymen, who for

reasons already sufficiently detailed resented the commanding influence of Ebel, but also much that belongs to the next chapter, treating of the famous ecclesiastical suit, which, intricate as it is, will be better understood without the introduction of personal matters there.

In the same connection the introduction of two other personages is here in place. By far the most venomous of the theological opponents of Ebel was the Consistorial Councillor Kähler, who in a pamphlet received as evidence, and forming part of the official record of the suit, is thus portrayed :

“ He became the personal enemy of Dr. Ebel, because the latter is the personal friend of God, of truth and of virtue, and because the blessed influence of his ministry is wanting in his own (K.’s) It is therefore not by any means surprising that a clergyman like Kähler should envy, and dare to persecute Ebel, who as a man and as a minister was a standing rebuke to his own conscience and ministry, and caused him by the mere force of contrast to feel his own inferiority, and to see that others regarded him in the same light.”

This Councillor Kähler was a member of the local Consistory, and bitterly opposed to Ebel from the very start, and it was he whom Schön singled out as the investigator of the very charges which had been persistently invented and propagated by himself.

A brother-in-law of Count Kanitz, *i. e.* his second wife’s brother, Count Fink, a thoroughly worldly minded man, who as well as his wife, had under the dominant influence of Christian sentiment among their social peers, risen to a certain show of religiousness, without being at all religiously inclined, and not by any means disposed to abandon their darling pursuits for habits of thought.

and life for which they really possessed no affinity. He belonged to a race, by no means extinct, whose conceit is exactly adjusted to their intellectual or moral deficiency, and often about things concerning which in the judgment of competent persons they are ill informed. When with the advent of Schön worldliness and irreligion regained the ascendancy at Königsberg these lukewarm Christians cast the straight-laced notions of the Ebel's circle overboard. There were also private matters which influenced their conduct, which must now be stated. Among the peculiar notions of Fink was the feudal prejudice that the paternal inheritance belongs *de jure* to the male descendants and not to the female, and that the latter depend on the generosity of the former. Now under the will of her father, Countess Charlotte von Kanitz had a share in the real estate. Her brother took the convenient view that that share should not be touched, and the interest due her remain unpaid. The Countess very naturally, especially as she wanted the money, did not relish the feudal notions which deprived her of her rights, and though, with great generosity, she had remitted to her brother several thousand thalers of back interest, yet as the Count, her brother, claimed the sole enjoyment of the revenue *de jure*, she very gently but firmly resisted his preposterous claims, and asked that at least one half of the annual interest be paid her. The Count waxed very hot, and indignantly declined all concession, saying that he was well able to pay the whole ; it was therefore agreed that he should do so. So he began the payments and indulged the curious habit of accompanying each payment with offensive and abusive letters. The thing was not to be endured, and compelled her finally to demand the payment of the principal as well as of the in-

terest. Count Fink ascribed this to religious fanaticism, and became thenceforth the bitter antagonist of his sister, her husband, Count Kanitz, and Ebel, whom somehow he held responsible for their actions.

When Olshausen and Tippelskirch * left Ebel and his friends they sought Fink, and as they all thought they had grievances to be righted, they made common cause against them, in which Kähler and Schön, who had likewise their peculiar grievances, heartily seconded them.

At an earlier period Ebel and Diestel had founded a sort of clerical club, called the *Prediger Kränzchen*, which met at least once a month for the purpose of cultivating social relations, and discussing scientific and theological subjects. From the nature of the case, Ebel was the recognized head and animating spirit of this club. Olshausen, very ambitious for leadership, and unable to establish it in that organization, started a new one which he called the Clerical Conference (*Prediger Conferenz*), for the manifest purpose of undermining the influence of Ebel. Somehow the Conference did not succeed; it had been conceived in ill-nature; unfortunately two of its members became crazy, and in those days of official interference the local authorities interposed and gave the Conference the quietus. This was very galling to Olshausen, who, feeling the necessity to justify his course, rushed into print, and as his statements were very unguarded and misleading, and assailed the views of his theological opponents, his pamphlet was answered by Diestel, and led to a long protracted theological controversy in which a number of pamphlets were written

* See p. 129.

on both sides, with the result, that Olshausen was so completely discomfited that it became necessary for him to leave the field, which he did by relinquishing his position at Königsberg for one at Erlangen, for which latter place he started in 1834.

The potencies at work to undermine the influence of Ebel and Diestel have now been sufficiently characterized to enable the reader to understand the situation. The secret and, on the part of some, the openly-avowed purpose of all the parties concerned was the overthrow of the hated Christian doctrine, and the setting up of a secular, rationalistic, accommodating theology, which should discard the element of personal purity, so strenuously maintained by Ebel and his friends. But how was the thing to be accomplished? It could not be done openly, for Ebel and Diestel were leaders of vast influence and power, of unimpeachable character, intrenched in the confidence and affections of the best and most influential people of Königsberg, and especially Ebel, almost worshipped by them for his many and shining virtues. If it was to be accomplished it had to be done in a different way. And that way was to brand Ebel and his followers with infamy by charging them with, and, if possible, convict them of heresy and sectarianism. In countries like England and America the charge and the conviction would not amount to anything *per se*, but in a country where religion forms part of a State which exercises a sort of paternal supervision over the religious conscience of the people, the charge amounted to a great deal, and the consequences to the persons accused and convicted would be very serious and disastrous. But as there was nothing in the public teaching of Ebel and Diestel, nor in their published

writings, to sustain such a charge, other means had to be sought and employed to forge one.

What these means were will now be narrated. Schön, Kähler, Olshausen, Tippelskirch, and Fink started, each in his peculiar way, the rumor that Ebel had founded a sect, that it was a heretical sect, and that all the excellent people introduced to the reader in the preceding pages were members of that sect ; that they held secret meetings, at which, under the garb of religion, unheard-of immoralities were taught and practised ; that that sect was an ulcer in society, and that the interests of public morals required investigation and radical measures for its suppression and extinction. It must not, however, be imagined that these dreadful charges were made openly or at one time ; they began to be circulated very gently and cautiously, and were whispered about in innuendoes scattered broadcast through society in Königsberg, the province, and all Germany, in mysterious allusions of dark import, and repeated and exaggerated so often that a public sentiment about them began gradually to be formed. They resurrected the ghost of poor Schönherr, and alleged that his wildest and most absurd vagaries were child's-play as compared with the terrible doings of the Ebelians ; the pagan Schön invented a peculiarly offensive epithet, and dubbed with it Ebel and the Old-Town Church people, and Fink husbanded his efforts to the best of his ability. This feudalist fancied that the Countess Charlotte's demand for her patrimony originated in sectarian bigotry, which caused her to disregard his feudal rights and subordinate them to the interests of her sect and the dictates of its head. Ignatius Loyola and his minions, according to him, were paragons of virtue as compared with Ebel,

Kanitz, the Countess Ida, and all the rest. He was so full of the matter, and so eager for revenge, that he indited a letter to a lady, altogether a stranger to Ebel and his friends, with the request to communicate its contents to some of her friends who were on terms of friendship with them. This lady's sister, Miss Zeline von Mirbach,* indignant at its vile calumnies, received presently one addressed to herself by the selfsame Fink, and sent it to Diestel, an old and personal friend of her family, for the purpose of stopping the matter. Diestel sent Fink a scathing missive, exposing his motives in words of indignant disgust, and notifying him that, as he "could not allow Christian ministers to be persecuted with the vilest calumnies to the injury of their sacred office," he was resolved to oppose him not only then, but whenever he should dare to repeat the offence, and to publish its falsehood.

Fink, who had anticipated this result, mounted the feudal charger, and desired Diestel to retract, and when he very properly refused to comply with the insulting request, he brought suit against him for libel, and in order to create a public opinion in his favor, he and Tippeleskirch† disseminated in a sort of circular letter, addressed to persons in different parts of Germany, the most slanderous reports concerning Ebel, Diestel, and their friends.

In this round-about but most adroit way opportunity was made to give the charges against Ebel and his friends publicity.

According to the then existing provisions of the Prussian code, the Criminal Senate, before which the suit for

* See p. 138.

† See pp. 122-124.

libel was pending, was bound to communicate the matter to the local ecclesiastical authority, the so-called Consistory, of which Schön, the provincial governor, was *ex officio* the presiding officer, and Kähler a member. This provision had the double purpose of faulting the clergy if they deserved censure, and of defending them in case they were falsely accused. The Consistory might, therefore, take cognizance of well-founded charges brought against clergymen presumably liable to them, but was bound to disallow unfounded charges in the case of persons of established reputation for integrity and virtue, and of acknowledged good standing.

But as Schön and Kähler were resolved to destroy Ebel if they could, and to degrade his religious sentiments, they pursued the unheard-of and preposterous course on the ground of mere rumor, without an ostensible informer (as the law required) to act the part of prosecutor (as the law forbade), and in violation of every known principle of judicial process recognized in the Prussian code, to appear in the double capacity of prosecutor and judge, with this further terrible aggravation, that the prosecutor and judge invented and manufactured the *corpus delicti*, and then instituted proceedings against Ebel and Diestel, as will appear more fully in the next chapter.

CHAPTER VII.

THE RELIGIOUS SUIT.

WHEN the Consistory received official information of the suit of *Fink vs. Diestel* for libel, pending before the Criminal Senate, its president, Schön, knowing all about Fink's stories (for he had told them to him), requested him through the Consistory to specify a few facts substantiating the charge of sectarianism, with a view to enabling that body to institute proceedings against Ebel; a very remarkable course to be pursued by an official body like the Consistory, whose functions did certainly not include those of the detective police. But as Fink had no *facts*, but only subjective *conjectures* to communicate, which under the Prussian code are inadmissible in courts of justice, the pliant Schön overcame the difficulty by appointing Kähler, a clerical member of the Consistory, as investigator, whom he knew to be the personal enemy of Ebel and the most bitter antagonist of his theological bias. As the basis of his conjectures, Fink adduced a conversation which he pretended to have had with Ebel thirteen years before, in the exact recollection of which he could not possibly be mistaken; he also produced a number of letters written by Count Kanitz some ten to fifteen years before, which, he alleged, concealed a mysterious sense under their otherwise most

edifying language. He also produced Sachs,* of infamous memory, as a witness to corroborate his surmises. When, by questions adroitly put, the inventive Sachs had been given to understand what kind of information was wanted of him, he gratified the wishes of this singular investigator to his heart's content, who proceeded thereupon to draft what he called "a theological opinion," but which, as to drift and purpose, not less than as to the peculiar denunciatory and false character of the writer might, with greater propriety and with strict reference to the etymology of the term, be described as "a diabolical opinion." Fink's wife, who twenty-three years before had been prepared by Ebel for confirmation, wrote (when does not appear) an essay on her impressions of the instructions she had then received, and which, she alleged, embodied the heretical notions of Schönherr (utterly unfounded, and pronounced so afterwards by competent judges); this essay was likewise received in evidence, and used by Kähler as the point of departure for his interpretation of Schönherr's views, which he fathered on Ebel, and pointed out that they were of dangerous moral tendency.

This *opinion* he reported to the Consistory, which thereupon, under date September 28, 1835, summoned Ebel to appear before them for the purpose of being examined concerning the charges, which were briefly referred to in the summons. Ebel, convinced that there could not be any well-founded charges against him, requested a copy of the specifications, which the Consistory refused, and postponed the set hearing to October 5, 1835. Ebel appeared on that day before the Consis-

* See p. 121.

tory and renewed his request, and when it was again refused, declined to submit to an examination until so just a demand were complied with.

In the meantime Count Kanitz, who was not only the oldest and most familiar friend of Ebel, but also intimately acquainted with the informers, had offered to appear before the Consistory to shed light on the matter. But that body would have none of his counsel, and preferred, contrary to every known principle of justice, to receive the testimony of Fink and Sachs in support of their own accusations, and two days later, on October 7, 1835, decreed that Ebel should be suspended from his office, and two months later, on December 9, the suspension of Diestel. This act of violence is unparalleled in the annals of Prussia, as diametrically opposed to the prescript judicial process, and as arbitrarily assuming powers with which the Consistory is not lawfully clothed

Ebel, who knew the temper of his ecclesiastical opponents and their presiding officer, was not at all surprised at their action, but, conscious of the uprightness of his course of life and ministerial conduct, took the suspension very calmly, while the Consistory, with a view to justify their daring action, adopted the following characteristic measures :

1. In their official notification of his suspension to Ebel they said :

“The past conduct of your office, acknowledged and recognized by this body as zealous and blameless, is unable to arrest further proceedings on our part, because it has been insufficient to ward off from you such hard charges.”

This excuse, as Count Kanitz tersely puts it, is invalid in law, in logic and in experience. In law, because the

law attaches the least importance to a charge preferred against a most blameless person ; in logic, because not every charge, as such, is well founded, and because nobody is able to ward off from himself an unfounded charge, and for the very reason that it has no real, actual foundation requiring to be removed ; in experience, because history affords many instances that the noblest of men cannot always ward off from themselves hard accusations.

2. The investigator published an anonymous paper in the *Allgemeine Kirchenzeitung* (Nov. 24, 1835, No. 177), starting with the outrageous falsehood that Olshausen had faithfully developed and clearly stated the doctrines of Schönherr in his work, *Lehre und Leben des Königsberger Theosophen, Johann Heinrich Schönherr*, etc., although only a year before he had maintained in another place : *Olshausenius in hanc rem scripsit inscite satis et injuste.** He then detailed at length the charges in romantic, or as we call it in America, in sensational language, leaving it in the reader's option to regard the matter "either as the most fearful aberrations of fanaticism and hypocrisy, or as senseless and culpable calumny," adding that the high and blameless character of the accused constrained the assumption of the latter alternative, but that nevertheless the Consistory had been compelled, under a strong sense of their responsibility, to decree their suspension, in order that the dignity of the ministerial office might be maintained and the public opinion respected. This marvellous and unique piece of reasoning is accompanied by the glaringly contradictory statement that "the judgment of all

* *Programm der Königsberger Universität, 1834.*

that prize truth and morals was not by any means formed," and that "the public impatiently and indignantly, with a preponderating leaning against Ebel and his friends, expected some decisive manifestation, and regarded the suspension in that light." The plain English of all this being that the writer deliberately attempted to create an unfavorable public opinion concerning the persecuted clergymen, *after* their suspension had been decreed, and then pretended that the pressure of that unfavorable opinion was one of the reasons for the suspension. When subsequently he was requested by Count Kanitz to explain these extraordinary statements, he declared *ad acta* that in using the term "public," he understood by it "something which is found everywhere, and yet cannot be anywhere definitely grasped." And such a phantom of a thing was alleged to have necessitated the action of the Consistory, which he sought still further to justify on the plea that Ebel, declining to be interrogated, and proposing measures calculated to protract the investigation, compelled that body to suspend him. The falsification was simply preposterous, seeing that all that Ebel ever proposed was the fair and sensible request to have a copy of the charges officially preferred against him, which is by universal consent the indisputable right of one charged with a misdemeanor or crime.

3. The Consistory likewise reported the matter to the Ministerium for Ecclesiastical Affairs at Berlin, in a way designed to misrepresent the case and thwart the ends of justice. They referred in terms of holy horror to an impending terrible popular excitement, which by their speedy, though well-matured action against the offenders had been happily averted. The bugbear of the alleged popular excitement was constructed with all the

Machiavelian skill which Schön and Kähler understood so well to employ. Six bills, they said, of dirty obscenity had been pasted up in different parts of the city, the contents of which had actually become known in the schools. They were comparatively harmless lampoons, written by some irreligious person and directed not against Ebel and Diestel only, but against *all* the orthodox ministers of Königsberg, who were mentioned by name, and breathed simply hatred of Christianity. Whether the two worthies wrote or inspired them themselves, cannot be proven, but it *is* proven that they did not send the bills to Berlin, where the absurdity and wickedness of their falsified account would have been instantly unmasked by their simple perusal, and preferred to describe them as something dreadful, imperiling the safety of the body politic and the public morality.

They further alleged that Ebel and Diestel, in order to prevent threatened disturbances in their churches, had been compelled on several Sundays to require the presence of the police during service, and that the police had likewise been compelled to protect Ebel and Kanitz in the streets of the city from the insults of an excited populace. When this matter was afterwards referred by the Count to the Chief of Police for verification, the official report of that functionary ran that although from information received (doubtless from Schön) the police had been instructed how to act in case disturbances should take place during public service, or in case Dr. Ebel or Count Kanitz should be publicly insulted, yet seeing that such disturbances and insults *never did* occur, the police had never been called upon, and never at any time did interfere. This matter, like the lampoon business, was purely invented by the chief civil

officer of the crown and his clerical confederate in the Consistory.

The Ministerium at Berlin had in its archives the record of the occurrences of 1814, emanating from the same body and directed against the same clergyman,* and reference to the opinion of Schleiermacher might have guided it as to the proper course to be pursued in the premises, which ought to have been the cancelling of the consistorial decrees and the institution of legal proceedings against the Consistory for culpable abuse of their powers and perversion of the ends of justice for the gratification of personal enmity. But there was no Schleiermacher to counsel wisdom, and the prevailing sentiment being rationalistic, the proposition for a criminal inquiry was approved, and on the depositions of three witnesses, who were *de facto* the informers, referred to the courts. These three witnesses were :

1. Fink, whose character has been sufficiently described, and whom Schön, who plumed himself on the use of significant epithets, called "a twister."

2. Sachs, also described, dubbed by Schön "a snapping cur, catching your leg from behind."

3. The Rural Councillor von Hake, whom Schön desired to communicate his impressions of the "Ebelian sect," was a man who, a short time before the suit had been begun, had become known to him under these circumstances : Hake had betrayed a girl on pretence that he was about to be divorced from his wife and would marry her, but having accomplished his purpose, discarded her, so that the poor victim appealed to Schön, the governor, for protection. The official protector of

* See pp. 79-82.

outraged innocence chose that infamous seducer as his third witness or informer.

It is proper to state here that the foregoing details are the *resume* of the official record, and that every word employed may be verified by it. By far the fullest account of the whole matter will be found in the exhaustive work of Count Kanitz, of which this is the full title : *Aufklärung nach Actenquellen über den 1835-1842, in Königsberg, in Preussen, geführten Religionsprozess für Welt- und Kirchen-Geschichte, von Ernst Grafen von Kanitz, Königlich Preussischem Tribunalsrath, A. D.*, Basel und Ludwigsburg, 1862, 1 vol. 4to, pp. viii., 468 (The Religious Suit Conducted at Königsberg, in Prussia, from 1835 to 1842, Elucidated by the Official Record as a Contribution to Secular and Church History, etc.). This masterpiece, by the concurrent testimony of all true historians (no matter how differently the matter was regarded by some at the time while the record was kept secret) now received as authentic, is the standing monument of his indefatigable perseverance, invincible zeal, and all-conquering friendship, whereby he has succeeded in proving with overwhelming conclusiveness on irrefragable evidence that said suit was conducted in violation of law, that the charges brought against the accused were baseless, barefaced falsehoods, that the sentences found against them were utterly unjust, and that Ebel and Diestel were bright and shining lights, conspicuous for virtue, spirituality, and faithfulness, whose lofty conceptions of the Christian life, and apostolical earnestness in commanding and upholding the necessity of applying Christian precepts to every relation of life, were the real cause of the bitter hatred and persecution meted out to them.

The writer, with limited space at his command over which the vast material has to be spread, from a just regard to symmetry and proportion, feels that by far the best account that can be given to the reader for the purpose of a general survey of the case, is a brief synopsis of the Count's work, preceded by a translation of the testimonial* addressed to him by the Bench at the time of his retirement from office, produced here for the purpose of informing those to whom that Christian nobleman is unknown of the opinion entertained of him by his colleagues, and of the credit to be attached to his statements :

“To the Royal Prussian Tribunal Councillor Count von Kanitz :

“Your officially communicated intention of leaving our college, in which during a very long series of years you have filled so distinguished a place, imposes upon us the painful duty of conveying to you our sentiments in a few valedictory words.

“Your example as a judge of true independence, fidelity, and conscientiousness should animate our imitation, and your pattern of sincere affability in your intercourse with us, your colleagues, have drawn and secured to you the undivided love and esteem of us all, a love and esteem which, next to the cheering consciousness of duty faithfully performed in your own heart, as we know it, represent the noblest recompence of reward.

“These our sentiments, which will ever accompany you through life, render our official farewell greeting peculiarly painful, as they impress us with the magnitude of the loss we are about to sustain.

“We beg you, along with this assurance, to accept our profound gratitude for the important and successful part you have had in our joint judicial labors, and for the urbane con-

* The reader will please observe that it was given several years after the termination of the suit.

siderateness which you have ever accorded to our collegiate body, while we trust that we may hereafter be privileged to enjoy the continuance of your good will.

“ May a gracious Providence very soon restore your health, impaired by meritorious zeal in the service of the fatherland, and grant you for many years to come unbroken and unclouded enjoyment of independent repose and of happiness securely founded on a warfare worthily carried on for truth and justice.

“ The Chancellor and President, the Councillors and Assessors of the Royal Tribunal of the Kingdom of Prussia.

“ v. WEGNERN. TIEDMANN. FEEGE. FISCHER.
RICHELOT. SCHMIEDIKE. LYMPIUS.
ULRICH. KÜHR. VOCK.
SIMSON. NEUMANN.
CHARISIUS. HOYER. HARTUNG.

“ Königsberg, the 30th December, 1845.”

The preface of the *Aufklärung*, recapitulating the Count's connection with the suit, and furnishing certain data essential to the proper understanding of the case, runs: “ The author of this work, whose outward and inward life is closely interwoven with the affair round which revolves the suit illuminated in its pages, felt it to be his duty from the commencement of the judicial proceedings to co-operate towards the establishment of the truth. His testimony having been declined by the Consistory,* he submitted a statement to His Majesty Frederic William III., bearing date October 18th, 1835, offering to bring his accurate knowledge of the accused and their accusers, and the motives of their accusations to the cognizance of the proper authorities, in order to

* See p. 153.

obviate precipitate action to be apprehended from the notorious adverse leanings of several high functionaries of State."

This led to the result, that the body charged with the investigation of the case was required in a cabinet order, dated November 7, 1835, "to request of Count Kanitz the information (or as expressed in another part of the royal mandate the *explanation*) which, according to his statement, would serve to explain the true nature of the case, and shed light on the individuality of the persons involved in the same."

"The Minister of Justice, moreover, on the 27th day of the same month, made it obligatory on the court conducting the inquiry, 'forthwith and carefully to comply with the execution of this supreme command.'

"The author, however, enjoyed only a very short time the privilege of satisfying the royal command; for as early as March 21, 1836, he was again denied the use of the minutes specifying the charges indispensable to the elucidation of the case, as well as access to the record of the subsequent transactions, which had been accorded to him since February 1, of the same year.

"Unsuccessful both in setting aside the lateral influences which had occasioned the said denial (to be detailed at the proper place), and in his efforts to prevent certain illegalities, his co-operation looking to the establishment of the truth had thenceforth to be confined to his testimony given before the court.

"At that time the elucidation bore on matters of fact, which have become superfluous since the publication of the final sentence in the suit continued to the close of the year 1841, according to which the accused were acquitted of all criminal charges, and condemned for holding a philosophico-theological *private view* and the alleged *dissemination* of the same. It is therefore all the more necessary at this present

time, that the official record should be made to illuminate the influences which rendered it possible that in this nineteenth century courts of *justice* did not only pretend to condemn *religious* and *philosophical views*, but actually undertook to pronounce their colloquial communication as *crime*, and to punish the persons concerned, with deposition from the ministry.

“This work seemed to be prescribed to the author in virtue of his intimate relation to the affair, and of his knowledge of the judicial record, insight of which was accorded to him in the first instance by royal mandate, and subsequently by the counsel for the defence. But its execution was impossible to him while the crowded business of official duties absorbed all his energies. Not until the impaired condition of his health, caused by the toil of many years’ labor, compelled him to resign his office in the service of the State, did he find the necessary leisure, and thanks to the invigorating influence of the milder climate in which he had taken up his abode, the needed strength to compile from former extracts the official data essential to the elucidation of the case.

“The author, in memory of the prince, whose sense of justice directed him to diffuse light on this matter, hereby fulfils the intent of the royal mandate in making the record reveal the truth, and satisfies the promptings of his own mind to supply proof that the termination of this affair in a result at once illegal, insensate and immoral cannot be laid to the charge of the humane Prussian law, to the administration of which he had for more than forty years consecrated all his powers, but rather to the *non-observance* and *transgression* of the provisions of that law, whereby in the conduct of this affair justice has in various ways been outraged and trodden under foot, the liberty of conscience violated, and things sacred delivered to vulgar contempt.”

The work consists of three parts, viz.: I. PRELIMINARIES OF THE SUIT ; II. HISTORY OF THE SUIT ; III.

RESULTS OF THE SUIT. Of these the first part has been so fully and exhaustively delineated in the preceding pages, that a further synopsis of it would be simple repetition ; the same applies to the first subdivision of the second part entitled 1. *The encroachments of the ecclesiastical authorities*, which are duly chronicled in the beginning of this chapter. The synopsis begins, therefore, with 2. *The precipitate interference of the courts and its consequences*, which Count Kanitz proves from the transgression of these precepts of the Prussian code. *a.* The judge must strictly confine himself to the limits of the law ; *b.* Only *facts* can be submitted to his judgment ; *c.* He must maintain the equality of all persons before the law ; and summarizes as follows : The Prussian criminal code prescribes, §§ 106, 111, 116, that the informers be heard in court before inquiries are instituted; *disregarded*.

§§ 109, 112, that the origin and cause of the charges be inquired into ; *disregarded*.

§§ 112, 115, compel the judge, as a preliminary, to inquire into the relations of the accuser to the accused, and the credibility of the former ; *wholly omitted*.

§§ 108, 110, expressly enjoin the utmost caution in maintaining inviolate the good report of the accused ; *disregarded*. Disregard of these legal precepts for the benefit of the accused led to a number of other illegal acts, among which should be noted the following :

The Criminal Directory sets forth in 72 paragraphs the manner how the *facts* of the case must be established ; *omitted*.

In consequence of this omission the prescript mode of procedure was entirely reversed, and the accused were forced to submit for months to inquiries concerning a non-extant *corpus delicti* ; the dignity of justice was

outraged by a search for an offence not established by facts ; the minutes of the accusation were construed contrary to law and reason ; the directions of the supreme law-giver (the king) for the elucidation of the affair were rendered nugatory by sundry intrigues.

But this was not all, for these transgressions of the law entailed the most disastrous consequences :

- a. As affecting the congregations of the accused by shaking their confidence in the justice of the Government.
- b. As affecting the sanctity of the family by trampling under foot the ties of blood and decorum in requiring parents and children, husbands and wives, to testify on oath against each other.
- c. As affecting the public welfare in giving license to unbridled passion, in favoring defamatory promulgations and suppressing their refutation, to the prejudice of the public morals, and the encouragement of unprincipled writers to abuse the press.

3. The illegal conduct of the examination.

The Prussian criminal code (§ 274) requires the judge to be as careful to ascertain the innocence as to establish the guilt of the accused, and to define clearly the legal concept of the crime, with reference to the modifications of the penal law affecting the same.

Nothing was done to define the legal concept of "a sect," although it had been intimated by the Chancellor von Wegnern "that the circle of friends described as a 'society' (*Verein*, lit. union) could not be regarded in the light of a sect, because that required formal separation from the established church, and the members of the alleged society had never avowed such separation, but on the contrary maintained continuous connection with the same." The examining officer,

moreover, officially put it on record that "the status of a sect imports a total separation from the dominant church." Instead of acting upon these cautions, and of limiting the inquiry to the question whether these criteria applied to the case in hand, *i. e.*, whether the alleged "society" was a sect, that was taken for granted, and the inquiry was allowed to assume inordinate dimensions, and to wander into illicit regions by

"Hunting for grounds of suspicion in all the provinces of Prussia, and in almost every country of German speech, and weaving together gossip wholly irrelevant to the case, and utterly unconnected with the accused and their friends."— "Fables and curiosa, collected in this way, became the subject of judicial proceedings and sworn examinations, and kept the public in breathless suspense from November, 1835, to August, 1836. Idlers failed not to augment the material thus furnished with the inventions of a vulgar and lascivious imagination, which were eagerly published by a frivolous press. No relation was spared; all ordinary decorum was set aside; the sanctity of the family was ruthlessly invaded, and all civil and social relations were rummaged by the intrusiveness of criminal interference."

All attempts to stay these degrading illegalities were unavailing; unsubstantiated rumors were, contrary to law, made the basis of official inquiry, even under oath; opinions, which the law accords only to experts, and to them only when the logical connection is established, were required and accepted from utterly unqualified persons on irrelevant matters; documentary evidence (restricted under the law to matters germane to the subject of inquiry, and bearing on the decision) of the most dubious and unlawful character was received; the legal provision that testimony must be based on

actual knowledge of facts obtained by the witness from observation of the senses, was wantonly disregarded, and conjectures and presumptions were illegally received as evidence. In the important matter of the credibility of witnesses, the record shows that a witness, whose reputation as an immoral man is established by documentary proof, was allowed to testify on subjects requiring morally pure perceptions. The law forbids the introduction of all irrelevant matter into the examination of the accused and of witnesses, especially that of suggestions (*i. e.*, of questions containing the matter that ought to be ascertained by the reply), and of captious questions (*i. e.*, questions inducing the witness to say more than he intended, or misleading or confusing him); *all* the questions submitted to the accused and the witnesses were full of such suggestions and captious features. The provisions of the law requiring "the witness to testify, fully and truly, and if possible, in his own words in the first person," was violated, and witnesses examined on written essays, even on essays composed for them by others, and the sanctity of the oath so outrageously disregarded, that a witness was actually required to testify on oath "whether seven persons whose names were given, had been the candlesticks in the Revelation of St. John?" The confrontation (*i. e.*, the act of bringing face to face two persons whose testimony on the same subject conflicts) throughout the trial (if trial it can be called) was just as loose and outrageous a mockery and scandal as the matter of the oaths. The confrontation of the accuser and the accused was under the Prussian code reserved in exceptional cases as a kind of last resort for getting at the truth; in this suit the court unlawfully constrained the

accused to submit eight times to this unnecessary and absurd procedure, because from the very nature of the case it could not probably promote the interests of truth. The confrontations of the witnesses, likewise, were marked by illegalities and glaring partiality.* While the prosecution was unduly favored, unlawful obstacles were placed in the way of the defence, and the whole inquiry is branded by Count Kanitz as a pattern showing how a criminal inquiry should *not* be conducted.

The Prussian criminal process leaves it optional with the defendant either to write his own defence or to employ a defender. The accused were now required (June 2 and 6) to name a defender within a week, and to hand in their defence within a month, and subsequently (July 16, 1837) within a fortnight. The documents had accumulated to such formidable dimensions that the time allotted for the preparation of the defence was barely sufficient to peruse these "Acts" (*Acten*) in the most superficial manner. The legally recognized *favor defensionis* was disallowed, and the action of the court was a grim satire on that just and merciful provision of the law. The accused chose as their defender a legal gentleman who, having just arrived at Königsberg, stood quite neutral to all the parties—Oberlandesgerichtsrath Crelinger—to whom, for the purpose of preparing the defence, all the "acts"—*i. e.*, the minutes of *all* the proceedings from beginning to end, without any pretence of arrangement, in a state of bewildering *confusion*—had to be forwarded. This distinguished jurist went at the herculean task with indomitable energy, and although he succeeded in obtaining more space than had originally

* *Aufklärung*, p. 215 sqq.

been granted to the accused, he was continually annoyed by petty chicanery on the part of the court, intentionally put forth to throw every possible difficulty in the way of the defence. The details of the defence need not detain us, but in the absence of these as well as of other unnecessary particulars, it may interest the general reader to peruse a private letter of Crelinger to a friend at Halle, written years after his official connection with the case had ceased, in answer to certain inquiries on the subject addressed to him :

“Allow me,” he wrote in 1845, “to state, in the first place, that the said invective [the term ‘Mucker’], as far as it found its way into the public, is due to a lithographed circular filled with the most revolting abuse, in which the persons in question were confounded with a party whose dead orthodoxy dons the livery of sanctimonious cant. That offensive term is not so much as mentioned in the ‘criminal minutes,’ nor has the court ventured to make any inquiries in that direction. That lithographed letter was sent all over Germany. I myself saw it at Breslau during the winter of 1835-6. When, in the spring of 1836, I entered upon my professional career in this city, I became officially connected with those persons so hardly assailed. . . . It were wrong to conceal from you that the opinion I had formed of my clients, under the dominant influence of that lithographic epistle, was not free from prejudice, and injurious to them. But how different were the impressions derived from personal intercourse with these so-called sectaries. So far from being hypocritical (lit. *head-droopers*) and ‘muckisch,’ I found them in every respect pursuing lofty moral and intellectual aims. Their candor and love of truthfulness were singularly striking, especially when, as their legal adviser, I recommended that some particulars for the accomplishment of certain ends should either be suppressed or at least be presented in a manner not exactly in agreement with the facts of the case, which is not by

any means disallowed in the handling of lawsuits, and seemed to me necessary; but all my representations of the propriety of that course, and of the *legal* disadvantages, nay, of actual danger to my clients that would or might ensue from their rejection of that advice, proved unavailing. The practice of a legal adviser necessitates caution, which in most instances is not only approved but desired by the parties to a suit. I was therefore simply amazed at an exhibition of veracity regardless of consequences, which I have rarely met in men of undoubted integrity, but never in the same degree as in those my clients. I need hardly add that it filled me with the highest respect and esteem for them. . . . As I began to understand all the bearings of their case, I perceived that their determination would rouse opposition and enmity all around, but especially from a party then incipient, but now, alas, dominant, seeking to make up for the want of spiritual and moral excellence by imaginary Christian phrase and a debasing trifling with religious subjects, which, by the adroit use of sundry co-operating circumstances, brought about the criminal inquisition of 1835-6. It is not improbable that that lithographed circular originated with the same party. . . . You want finally to know if judgment has been pronounced? There has; the second and final sentence of the Court of Appeal was given in 1842, resulting in the deprivation of the two clergymen, because their philosophical views of religious subjects were not approved; it was therefore an inquisitorial sentence, at the time at least unexpected and diametrically opposed to the liberty of thought and belief guaranteed by the law. . . . A procedure which makes the strictly private views of an accused person the basis of punishment cannot be denominated otherwise than persecution. . . . On the other hand, the court acquitted the accused of the charges of sectarism and of the immoral tendencies publicly rumored, and the second sentence emphatically rebuked the extravagant distortions of the press on this point, and public notice thereof has been given in an article printed in No. 80 of the *Allgemeine Leipziger Zeitung* for 1842. . . . You per-

ceive from this simple answer of your questions that the affair belongs to those which essentially concern the interests of right and truth."

The third part of the "Aufklärung" treats of the RESULTS OF THE SUIT. It is also subdivided into three sections :

1. *The unmasking of the accusers and their witnesses.* This section wrought by the disregard of the monitions of conscience reveals a warning picture of moral devastation in men, who, at one time receptive to nobler impressions, had chosen the better part. The melancholy official record *proves* that the conduct and testimony of the seven accusers named in the sentences were compromised not only by their own statements, unsuccessfully defended in the sentences, but by the sworn testimony of the seven witnesses for the defence, as well as by the comparison of the argument of the accusation (prosecution) with that of the defence, in a manner at once destructive of their credibility and of the argumentation of the sentences, seeking to uphold their credibility in the interests of the prosecution, although the prosecution refused to credit many of their sworn statements. The irresistible inference of this exposure is most damaging to the judicial integrity of the sentences, as will appear more clearly from the analysis of their reasons to be given below.

2. *The degradation of criminal justice in the first sentence* is demonstrated both in the parts relating to the acquittal, and in those relating to the condemnation of the accused. In order to put this clearly, it is necessary to remember that the first judicial sentence in the enumeration of its reasons absolutely rejects any and every criminal charge preferred against the accused, except that of sectarism,

and declares them to be utterly unfounded ; that is, it *acquits* them, and yet in spite of this actual acquittal, fails to *declare* such acquittal in the tenor (as it is technically called) of the sentence. But the law (§ 488) expressly requires that the crime of which the person accused is acquitted, or for which he is punished, be explicitly named in the judgment, *i. e.*, the tenor. This failure was a crying act of injustice, because the accused, though acquitted of every criminal charge and condemned only for (the unproved) allegation of having founded a sect, were not formally *declared* innocent of those charges, and further injured in the consequent interpretation of the sentence by the public that they were condemned for the commission of the offences falsely charged against them. In other words, the court had *found* them innocent and yet failed to *declare* them innocent. This failure on the part of the court to specify in the sentence the innocence of the accused was a wrong opposed to the evidence, to law and to logic, and it would be difficult to brand it more effectually than is done in the dignified language and terrible logic of the "Aufklärung."

The three points just named, viz.: the evidence, the law, and logic on which a judicial sentence must be founded, and for which the judge is responsible to the accused and to public opinion, complete, according to the "Aufklärung," the degradation of criminal justice in the *condemnatory* part of the sentence. The enormities in this respect almost beggar belief, for in the first place the record *proves* that the accused never intended to found a sect and never did found one ; in the second place, neither the criminal code nor the common law of Prussia contains a law under which the accused clergymen could be proceeded against, and that Wöllner's

notorious religious edict of 1788, directed against *neology* (repudiated and opposed by the accused clergymen), and abrogated in 1794 by the common law, and in 1798 by cabinet order, was illegally and in defiance of logic and common sense perverted and misapplied to the case of two men who dared to entertain a private philosophical view on the origin of the world, etc., not shared by the dominant theologians at Königsberg, and last, not least, that the *corpus juris* of the Roman empire was ransacked for certain provisions made under Valentinian and Marcian, fourteen hundred years before, against the heretical sects of the period, and made the basis for finding Ebel and Diestel guilty of having founded a heretical sect. Having perused the atrocious nonsense raked up, twisted, misapplied and tortured into fitting by those remarkable custodians of the law for the administration of justice, the writer can think only of two parallels, the one belonging to the realm of fable—the wolf and the lamb—and the other, the history of the Inquisition, and feels constrained to admire the extraordinary and dignified moderation of the concluding paragraphs of this section of the “*Aufklärung* :” “In presence of all the particulars furnished in the preceding pages demonstrating that the sentence in question has with a daring stroke of the pen violated not only the truth as established by evidence, but also the laws of right and reason ; remembering moreover that only a portion of those violations has been denounced, as it lay beyond the limits and ends of this work to furnish an exhaustive criticism of this sentence which would have exhausted the patience of the reader,—remembering all this, the conviction is irresistible that it is impossible to conceive a more humiliating degradation of the administration of criminal justice in

Prussia than the fact that such a document, duly authenticated by the confirmatory formula V. R. W. (*von Rechtswegen*, *i. e.*, because of right) and the signature of a respected court of justice, regarded as impartial, could have been published to the world, without pretending to distribute the degree of responsibility of the different individuals who "because of right and because of wrong" participated in its production, the most prejudiced will be forced to confess that this sentence is responsible for the commission of a crime vastly greater than that which it pretended had been committed, and that it furnishes an array of facts not by any means redounding to the honor of its authors.

"Church history furnishes, it is true, examples in bygone ages of condemnatory judgments in matters of faith, whereby the benefactors of the race have been sacrificed to party hatred because they opposed the universal corruption, and false witnesses charged them with some transgression or crime; but it cannot instance another judicial sentence drawn up in this century marked at all decisive points by an utter disregard of truth, law, and logic, and unable to produce an offence punishable in law, pronounced a judgment of condemnation on views and opinions, and ruthlessly smote in the face the advanced civilization and tendency of the age for the purpose of crushing out a ministerial activity fitted truly and lastingly to meet the wants of our time.

"This sentence is and remains, therefore, a significant document, illustrative of the danger accruing to right and morality by any and every deviation from law. The futility of its attempted perversion of truth into untruth is also an attestation of the purity and rectitude of the true *Christian Life*, which, in spite of outward oppression and in proportion to the violence meted out to it by the powers of the world, always has and ever will overcome the world."

This “sentence,” as well as the final one, already frequently referred to, cannot be given to the reader in *this* volume, for their production would necessitate about two additional volumes of the size of this ; the fact is that the two sentences cover about a thousand folio pages in manuscript, and this solitary fact may suffice to illustrate the difference between the old system of criminal procedure in private and the new system of public trials (in Germany). One single word in case of acquittal, and only two words in case of condemnation are needed now, where a thousand pages of foolscap were required forty years ago. If the case of Ebel and Diestel were extant now, no grand jury in England or America would dare to indict them, and, should an indictment be made, the case could not be tried at all, and would be quashed the first day.

The third and last section of this part bears the title :
3. *The condemnation of the whole suit by the final sentence.*

The judgment of the Criminal Senate of the Kammergericht at Berlin, drawn up March 28, 1839, and published five months later, August 30, 1839, was to the effect that the two accused clergymen—

“Be deprived of their office and declared unfit for any public office, for intentional violation of their duty, and that, moreover, Dr. Ebel, for having founded a sect, be removed to some public institution and detained there until he have given proof of amendment.”

From this judgment Ebel and Diestel appealed to the Senate of Appeal of the Supreme Court, and their defender in the first instance, Dr. Crelinger, drew up a lucid brief, clearly showing that the “Acts” contained abundant data disproving all the charges preferred

against his clients, and moving upon the recital of those data their full acquittal, and submitting that the correspondence of the Consistory and of Schön with the Ministerium at Berlin and Minister von Altenstein be required to be procured, and that the sworn statements of Frau von Bardeleben, a witness for the defence, be received in evidence.

But as both that correspondence and the depositions of said witness would have unravelled the machinations of the promoters of the persecution, the motion implicating Schön and other high officials was wantonly disregarded, and after the further lapse of eighteen months the court drafted, on December 4, 1841, and caused to be published at Königsberg on February 2, 1842, the following judgment :

“That the finding of the Criminal Senate of March 28, 1839, published August 30, 1839, be so far modified that the accused be deprived of their office and be declared unfit for any public office, not for intentional violation of their duty, but for violation of their duty from gross negligence, to wit: that the accused, Dr. Johann Wilhelm Ebel, be dismissed from his office of archdeacon and preacher of the Old-Town Church at Königsberg, and that the accused Georg Heinrich Diestel be dismissed from his office of preacher of the Haberberg Church at Königsberg; and further, that Dr. Ebel be acquitted from the charge of having founded a sect, and that the finding of his detention in a public institution be cancelled.”

It will be observed that this judgment cancelled indeed the most crying blunder of the lower court, viz.: the condemnation on the ground of having founded a sect, but upheld, nevertheless, the chief wrong *in principio*, namely, that free inquiry and the effort of urging

the application of biblical principles to the thought and life of men were condemned as criminal and visited with criminal punishment.

The antagonism running through the second sentence both in its acquitting and condemnatory portions is very pronounced. Forced to reject the charge of sectarianism, and not daring to uphold the support of the Religious Edict as a monstrosity abhorrent to the spirit of the age, it nevertheless inflicted a punishment without an offence to be punished, and thus involuntarily condemned the whole suit, by showing that the criminal procedure was utterly unfounded and unjustifiable.

The reader may desire to know how the court could thus stultify itself and perpetrate so outrageous a piece of injustice as that of punishing men for something which they had not only not committed, but of which they were acquitted. This explanation will now be given in brief.

It is comprehended in the single proposition that the second sentence, like the first, both in its acquitting and condemnatory portions, went in direct opposition to the evidence, to the laws of the land, and to the dictates of logic. The acquittal from the charge of sectarianism on the ground that the founding of a sect necessitates separation from the established church, and that in the case in hand no such separation was attempted, designed or effected, is judicially conclusive ; and there the matter ought to have ended. But the author of the sentence undertook the superfluous reiteration on sixty folio pages of all the defamatory charges of the accusers, without an equally explicit recital of their rebuttal, which in all fairness he was bound to do. He introduced the evidence for the defence only to set it aside, and distort the case.

The condemnatory part of the sentence deals with :

1. Familiar conversation with friends on metaphysical, philosophical and theological questions.
2. Conversational expressions relating to the sanctity of the marriage relation, and
3. Treats these conversations as violations of official duty, and on that account inflicts the punishment named in the judgment.

Reference to Appendix B, where the topics touched under 1 are fully illustrated in copious extracts, will suffice to show the absurdity of making them the subject of criminal inquiry, and the outrage of branding their conversational discussion as a criminal offence. If the official record were not there to prove the unheard-of injustice, it would be incredible. Let the matter be illustrated. I have before me the December number of the *Contemporary Review* (1881) which contains Professor Calderwood's article on Evolution. Let a clergyman, who is in the habit of discussing intellectual or speculative topics with a select number of educated members of his congregation, make evolution the theme of inquiry, and avow his conviction that "the rational is the key to existence." Some one charges him thereupon with heresy and sectarism, the matter is made the subject of criminal investigation, and in spite of his protestation to the contrary, of his having never taught anything of the kind, in fact of his having never taught anything contrary to the received standards of his church, but simply conversed on the subject of evolution with his friends, and in spite of incontrovertible proof to that effect, those conversations are nevertheless denounced as criminal violations of his duty as a clergyman, and he is on that account illegally punished with

deprivation. That is the case of Ebel and Diestel. That aspect of the case need not detain us.

2. Conversational expressions relating to the sanctity of the marriage relation.

The matter referred to here had been made the starting-point of all the infamous slanders circulated in the lithographed letter, in the press, and otherwise against Ebel and his sect, especially by Schön, Fink and *id omne genus*. It has likewise been unearthed, in the most unwarrantable manner by William Hepworth Dixon in his sensational book called "Spiritual Wives." The present writer, very soon after the appearance of that bad book, took occasion publicly to denounce its true character in an article on the Königsberg Religious Suit, printed in the *Bibliotheca Sacra*, October, 1869. It is referred to here merely as a matter of history, for the book itself has been buried in well-merited oblivion a considerable number of years, and Dixon, who likewise died years ago, never dared to answer the scathing pamphlet of Dr. Wilhelm Ebel,* in which he is openly charged with and proved to be guilty of malicious and deliberate falsehood. Although the matter might be passed over in general terms, it seems better to produce from the record all that there is of it, in order that it be permanently available to any and all desirous of knowing the truth, and how easy it is, by persistent and lascivious calumny, to degrade the noblest utterances to the vilest and most ignominious ribaldry. I do not propose to stain the pages of this book, or to insult the memory of the sainted dead with the repetition of those calum-

* *Dixon's und Dunker's Seelenbränte silhouettirt*, von Wilhelm Ebel, Dr. phil. Basel und Ludwigsburg, 1869.

nies, but shall confine myself to the evidence in this matter.

The whole conversation, conducted in the presence of witnesses, and *sworn to by one of the chief instigators of the suit as being the whole*, was, in the words of Eduard von Hahnenfeld,* made under oath and, in writing, as follows:

"I remember how Ebel, in a conversation with several gentlemen, in response to questions submitted to him, called attention to the circumstance that man created in the image of God was originally so constituted that his body and soul, his understanding and feelings, were harmoniously adjusted, that the promptings of the flesh did not disturb him, seeing that his intellectual nature dominated over the physical; and that then, in the enjoyment of peace and a good conscience, there was nothing to interfere with his upward look to God. But that peace and that calm upward look to God vanished when he fell into sin, in consequence whereof the equilibrium of his powers became disturbed, sense began to predominate and animal promptings to agitate him. From that time forward he stood in need of garments, for sin having also disturbed the sexual relations, mankind ever since became so sadly degraded that the majority of the race yielded to animal promptings and to carnal appetites that war against the soul, on which account the holy Scriptures warn us to abstain from fornication and enjoin the duty of chastity. Holy Scripture, moreover, recommends and exhorts us to the recovery of chastity, and to yield ourselves to the influence of the Spirit in order that, according to our original destiny, reason, and not the animal part of our nature, should dominate. The noble-minded accordingly consider it their duty to maintain purity in love. It is true that in this their aim good and spiritually-minded men have erred and failed; some, deeming purity in love an utter impossibility, insisting upon the practice of celibacy as conformable to the will of God; but this is

* *Religiöse Bewegung*, pp. 73-75.

contradicted by the tenor of the whole sacred volume, which recommends the purification and exaltation, not the extermination, of the divinely-implanted promptings of our nature. Others, indeed, believing in and striving after the possibility of restoring sexual purity by the perilous delusion of overcoming temptation through familiarity, wander likewise from the teachings of Holy Scripture, which contains not the faintest trace of recommending the mortifying of the flesh by such arbitrary means; we should not seek without for that which must be born within us.

“ The sense of shame must not be suppressed, for though it entered our nature with the fall, it is a precious thing to be well guarded, and as a witness of the Holy Spirit within us that we are sinful and have fallen from original innocence; the sense of shame should correct us, and we ought to be very careful not to destroy it. It is only by living in the *Spirit* that we can establish the supremacy of mind over sense, and not fulfil the lusts of the flesh.

“ Liberties with members of the other sex are reprehensible under all circumstances, incompatible with proper decorum, and perilous to pure morals, on which account the commerce of the sexes requires to be hedged in by the utmost precautions.

“ In the conjugal relation, likewise, purity ought to prevail, and sense ever be subordinate to mind. Marriage, to those who are born of God, is the beginning of the restoration of our original purity; those united together in holy wedlock love each other consciously under the sacred promptings of the Spirit, each regarding the other as the child of the Father in Heaven, who gave each to the other for their mutual happiness, and their union is not like that of brutes and brutish men, the promptings of low instincts, but impelled by the promptings of love, whose seat is the heart, and whose Lord is the Spirit.”

Now these were the sentiments of Ebel, and who can deny that they are lofty, true, and ennobling? All else

was calumny. And such advice, kindly and lovingly tendered to those who, in the course of a long ministry, came to seek it at his hands ; advice tending to purify, elevate, and ennable the lower instincts of our nature into divinely implanted promptings designed to make and keep us pure and good, was condemned as criminal by an insensate judge on the testimony of avowed and convicted sensualists, imbruted in carnality of the lowest and most abandoned order.*

But the crowning piece of this arbitrary sentence, in open conflict with the evidence, the laws of the land, and with reason, is the absurdity of calling these imaginary offences instances of violated official duty, for it is impossible to conceive by what process of reason, logic, or justice a clergyman may be deprived of the privilege of *private* conversation, which is accorded to every other human being not a clergyman, and especially guaranteed by law to every Prussian subject, who enjoys the inalienable rights of liberty of thought, liberty of conscience, and liberty of speech. According to this wonderful sentence a clergyman, because he is a clergyman, ceases to have a private life, to forfeit the privilege of *private thought* and its *expression* to his friends in *private conversation*.

From this second and final sentence there was no further appeal to any other earthly tribunal in Prussia, but there was an appeal to the Highest Tribunal, superior to earthly courts of justice, to the Tribunal of eternal truth and right in the courts above, and that appeal, made in humble, earnest prayer, in meek resignation, and triumphant faith has not been made in vain, for He that

* See what is said of Sachs, Hake, and others, pp. 121 sq.; 157.

judgeth righteous judgment has long since established the innocence of Ebel and Diestel, and so overruled the injustice meted out to them that the very wrath of man has been made to praise Him, and the righteousness of His persecuted servants has been brought forth as the light and their judgment as the noonday.

There are still several particulars connected with the period of the suit which remain to be chronicled. After the suspension of Ebel, there was one day found in a street of Königsberg the copy of a petition, sent by the catechumens of Ebel to His Majesty the King of Prussia, which, on account of the beautiful and touching tribute it pays to him, and because of the tender sympathy in which it originated, deserves to be put on permanent record. It runs thus :

“ High and most potent king ! Most gracious, and dearly beloved king and lord ! Respectfully and full of confidence we venture to approach the throne of our prince, and urge upon the paternal heart of our dear king the earnest supplication : ‘ Give us back our beloved teacher ! ’

“ We, the catechumens of Dr. Ebel, archdeacon and preacher of the Old-Town Church of the city, some of us having been confirmed by him within the last few years, and others accepted of him for instruction several months ago, feel most deeply pained, because malice has succeeded by invented falsehoods and calumnies to bring about the suspension from office of this our venerable religious instructor. Although himself far above such base accusations which are unable to cast him down, but fill us with profound abhorrence and painful sorrow, and constrain us to forward these words of childlike supplication to the dear father of our country towards whom the hearts of all of us go out in hopeful expectation. We feel ourselves deserted, bereft as we are of our fatherly friend and teacher, and many a one among us ex-

claimed : 'I shall write to our king !' this could not remain an empty speech, and we resolved to pour out the earnest desire and most cherished longing of our heart before our dear prince; oh, that we were able to describe in lively colors the piety and love of Dr. Ebel, rendering happy all that surround him, and prompting the hearts of all men to whatever is good, and to present to your Majesty a portraiture of his life consecrated to God. Words cannot express it—we have experienced in our hearts the shining influence of our godly teacher, the vital power of divine love streaming forth from his every word, mightily quickening from death unto life, and love, and obedience to God and man, and causing us to delight in the practice of virtue and the discharge of our duty. If we were able in our feeble words to delineate the picture of this man who has only God before his eyes and in his heart, and has likewise understood to fill our hearts with the desire to love God and walk in His ways—our dear king, who loves godliness and piety, and in whom next to God we place our entire hope, we are convinced would perceive that he is innocent. The hours in which our dear teacher has made us acquainted with the will of God were until now the most beautiful of our life, henceforth it will be that hour in which the grace and justice of your Majesty shall restore him to us. May we not have to wait long in vain, and may our united supplication reach the heart of our dear and venerated king ! Yes, it will be done, we shall not have asked in vain for justice.

"When Dr. Ebel announced to the congregation your Majesty's order for the rebuilding of the Old-Town Church, he gratefully exclaimed : 'Yea, thy king hath comforted thee and turned thy sorrow into joy. Give ear, now, every member of this congregation, give ear thou royal city, give ear O fatherland throughout thy borders, the heart of our king hath comforted us !' Will he not also comfort us now ?

"Confidingly looking up to the throne of our dear king, whom our dear teacher has taught us to honor, love and remember in our prayers, we remain in profound obedience

and with respectful affection your Majesty's most faithful children."

The event referred to at the close of the foregoing petition belongs to the year 1835, and was the result of Ebel's indefatigable energy; the king had subscribed a handsome sum and augmented it by a new one along with the cabinet order drawn up on the evening before his birthday (Aug. 3, 1835); he also approved the plan of enclosing the site of the Old-Town Church (which Schön wanted to convert into a cabbage market), and of planting it with trees, as a standing memorial of the planting of God which for centuries had been so tenderly nursed on that sacred spot.* Ebel at the time made this modest entry among his memoranda: "O gracious God, thou hast crowned our effort with success in enabling us to provide a new church for the Old-Town congregation. But a preacher after thine own heart I have been unable (as presiding officer of the church collegium) to secure."

It is gratifying to record that the last prayer also has been mercifully heard and answered, and the Reverend Mr. Lackner, the present incumbent of the church, is such a man, and delights to trace and recognize the blessed fruits of Ebel's ministry. Not long ago he is re-

* It was Count Kanitz, who, in order to prevent the desecration of that hallowed spot, rented it for an indefinite number of years, bore the expense of enclosing it with an iron fence and transforming it into a beautiful park, an ornament of the city. The place belongs now either to the municipality or to the congregation; it is in a state of excellent preservation, and displays in the midst of shrubbery and flowers a handsome fountain. As the trees and plants were deemed a fitting symbol of the planting of God, so the fountain is an equally appropriate emblem of the fountain of living waters for the healing of the people.

ported to have stated to a lady at Königsberg : " How could the effects of Dr. Ebel's ministry have continued so long, if a single iota of all the calumnies about him had been founded in truth? When I meet those who would maintain the contrary, I make *fiery* opposition, for I know better than any one what kind of seed he sowed."

Another pleasing and interesting event belonging to the trying period of the suit, when the storm of persecution was fiercest, is the following. The people at Königsberg, I mean the great mass of the people, were utterly incredulous as to the slanders so sedulously and persistently propagated, and their faith in Ebel was as unshaken as their affection for him was deep-seated ; they knew that he was a persecuted man, and they sought occasion for the public expression of their opinion. It is customary at Königsberg that on Christmas Eve bands of musicians pass through the streets playing solemn Christmas chorals. Such a chorus of trombones was approaching the street in which Ebel lived. The family was assembled in the Doctor's room for the purpose of celebrating in the true German fashion the time-honored *Weihnachtsbescheerung*, and heard the solemnly joyous strains of the majestic trombones ; the windows were opened that all might hear the beautiful music as it went past ; the chorus did not go past, but took up its stand before the house, and in the hearing of the whole church-square, right under Ebel's windows, played an entire stanza of the ancient hymn :

" *Gelobet seist du Jesus Christ,*
 Dass du Mensch geboren bist," etc.

The good doctor wept tears of joy over this beautiful

celebration of the “birthday of the Lord Jesus,” and this public and touching recognition of his worth.

The judgment of the final sentence of course imposed the necessity of an enforced outward and official dissolution of his connection with the Old-Town Church ; the far stronger inward connection with every member of his flock, which lived in their hearts and souls, could not be broken by that unjust decree ; those ties were indissoluble, and were understood to be so both by himself and the people.

In his farewell addressed to the officers of the congregation he wrote :

“ The judgment of the Supreme Senate of Appeals of the Royal Kammergericht deprives me of my office of archdeacon of the Old-Town Church. God has vouchsafed to honor His servant by deigning to set upon him and upon his nearly thirty years’ service in the Christian ministry the seal of legitimation, and to utter thereby a word of profound significance to all familiar with his ministry of the Word.”

A letter written by him about this time affords further insight of his feelings :

“ Time in its development hastens onward to maturity, and God, who willeth that all men should be saved, also willeth that by free choice laying hold of salvation they should come to a knowledge of the truth. This knowledge, however, can only be found through faith in the declarations of the Bible. Our age needs a philosophy, and seeks one ; but it will continue in perplexity until it learns to subordinate reason to the divine Word. Such is the drift and spirit of the philosophy which ranging itself below the Bible, advances no other claim than that of supplying the thinking mind with a key to open the Bible, and repudiate the views and consequences which others have imputed to it. This philosophy, instead of oppugning the fundamental truths of the evangel-

cal church, confirms them, and is a trusty weapon directed at once against the unbelief and the show religion of the age.

“With profound gratitude to God I now confess, that while other philosophies have carried away from the Bible hundreds of my brethren in the ministry, this philosophy has preserved me from the loose seductions of a turbulent age, and given me in the evangelical confession of faith a strength of conviction which, in spite of incessant hostility, has remained unshaken in strictly biblical preaching.

“Committing therefore all things to Him, who gave to man the word of the Bible, which, as to the whole of the contents I hold to be divine truth, and trusting in Him who has thus far so wonderfully led me, I retire from office with a quiet mind.”

From still another letter, less formal, written to Pastor Gäsbeck in Preuss-Eylau, his brother-in-law, and bearing date March 14, 1842, are drawn these passages :

“Never shall I forget the love and sympathy with which in the spring-time of our friendship you rejoiced with me over the victory of God over the adversaries of His truth, which you even then (in 1814) did know. The authorities have in the year 1841 become guilty of what the Ministerium for Ecclesiastical Affairs then described as inconsistency and an act of violence bearing the appearance of persecution. Still we have His blessed word that ‘the gates of hell shall not prevail against His church ;’ and in the measure as I feel conscious (what my adversaries were constrained to admit) that all my work originated in sincere faith in Him, and in the desire to reconcile this my sacred faith with reason, I am cheerful and composed. These words, used by Consistorial Rath Kähler in his lampoon (in condemnation of his own conduct) as descriptive of the frame of mind in which I received the suspension, thank God, continue to express my feelings, for I know that my life has always been consecrated to God and to

the service of my fellow-men in love. . . . There are moments in life when language fails us, when it behooves us to be still, and without advancing any claims, to depend on the love of our friends. . . . And now, my dear ones, we unite in love to you and your children with our best wishes, in remembrance of the years when you, along with others, heard from my mouth, and I may add from my inmost heart, the message of God ; thanks, my warmest thanks, for every proof of your love, which has often, very often done me good, and while I write this, moved to tears, I beg that your prayers and remembrance may accompany us to our retirement."

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Ebel".

It will be remembered that Mrs. Ebel was the eldest daughter of the burgess of Quittainen. The good burgess had gone home at the time of the suit, but his widow was still on earth. One of her sons, Bernhardt Leinweber, had been very successful as a farmer, and was devotedly attached to Ebel, through whose instrumentality and that of Kanitz he had made his way in the world. When he heard that the Ebels were about to leave Königsberg, he felt that he ought to do something to lighten their burden, and a few days before they bade adieu to the beloved city, he came with a ponderous train laden with solid products of his farm, in the shape of potatoes, flour, dried fruit and the like, begging them kindly to accept his free-will offering as a loving contribution to their new establishment.

About five weeks after the foregoing letter was written,

and after all the arrangements for leaving the parsonage had been completed, after the sad and last words of farewell had been spoken, there came early in the morning of April 26, 1842, Baron Ernst von Heyking (the same from whose beautiful manuscript so many interesting details have been taken) to be with the family to the last. He had really come to comfort and cheer by his presence Ebel and his family, but the tender, gentle, kindly man felt so sad at heart that instead of comforting them, Ebel had to comfort him ; tears glistened in his eyes and in his grief language died on his lips. But he was there in love, and it was he who helped them into the coach, and when his straining eyes could no longer see the coach which carried away his dear friends, and the sound of the wheels grew fainter on the pavement, he returned to lock the doors, and took the keys to the parish-clerk.

And so Ebel was gone from his dear Old-Town Church, gone from Königsberg, and the enemies of that godly man, and the enemies of the truth which he so manfully and nobly advocated seemed to triumph. It was a poor triumph : what became of them individually I cannot tell ; I only know that Ebel forgave them truly and sincerely the wrong they had done him, and that the Prime Minister of Prussia, the late Rudolph von Auerswald, the personal friend of the reigning emperor of Germany, told his sister, the sainted Countess Ida von der Gröben, in a conversation held at Hoheneck, a number of years later in reference to them that “they had all come to grief.” They have long since gone to their account, and it is not necessary to name them again. On the suit itself the words of Lactantius (*Institut. v.*) seem to furnish an appropriate commentary :

“ What may be the chief element of this strong, determined hatred ? Does truth bring forth hatred ? Or are they ashamed of their wickedness in presence of the righteous and the good ? Or is it both ? For truth is hated for no other reason than that the sinner desires full scope for his sins, and thinks that his wickedness can only then be fully gratified when there is none left to rebuke it. On this account the pagans want to exterminate the Christians as the witnesses of their malice and wickedness, for they loathe them as those who rebuke their lives. For why should a few be good at so inconvenient a season, and by their good conversation reproach the general immorality ? Why should not all be equally bad, thievish, unchaste, adulterous, perjured, lustful and cunning ? Such being the case, it did not suffice to oppress the Christians by outward acts of violence ; they had, if possible, to be morally annihilated. And how could that be done more effectually than by distorting their doctrine ” (branding it as infamous) “ and by slandering their conversation ? ” *

* It is remarkable, instructive, and most consoling to the believer in the Bible as the Word of God, that no power of human or earthly origin can prevail against it. The rationalists and Erastians of Königsberg thought they had killed the Bible when they cried down Schönherr, and strove by calumny to kill Ebel. Their very opposition made the cause more prominent, and their calumnies brought out the truth. The pure evangelical and biblical teaching of Ebel has raised him to a pedestal of glory, and his name will be delivered to posterity as that of saint and martyr, who in the nineteenth century proclaimed, and was persecuted because he proclaimed, personal holiness as the indispensable concomitant and exponent of the Christian life. The names and the memory of his persecutors are buried in oblivion, but the name of Ebel, the witness and lover of Jesus, is better known than ever, and the truth of his beautiful life will be read wherever English and German speech are known.

CHAPTER VIII.

R E S T .

IT has been stated that the great mass of the people at Königsberg never believed the charges that had been brought against Ebel, while the suit was pending, and when it became known that he was acquitted of any and everything that malice had been able to invent, that he was likewise acquitted of the mysterious crime of having founded a sect, of whose very existence nobody at Königsberg had the remotest idea, and concerning which it moreover transpired that it never had any existence except in the heated and inventive brains of the promoters of the suit, the people, of course, who knew and loved Ebel, and knew far better than any one else the character and aims of his opponents, were more devoted to him than ever before, when in spite of that knowledge, in spite of his innocence, he was unjustly deprived of his office. He was in their eyes a martyr to official incompetence and theological hatred ; and they would have loved him just as much as they did, if the stupid sect-business had been true ; they knew that Ebel was their friend, that he preached the truth, that he was a good man and a true, and the dogma, or rather the speculative concept of the dualistic principle lay in a region they could not and did not care to explore ; and as that dogma or principle had

no more connection with sectarianism than the theory of the northwest passage or the primary uses and designs of the pyramids, they left the matter supremely alone, and only grieved, and in the bitterness of sorrow, as a law-abiding people, submitted to the inevitable separation from him ; but they never ceased to love him and, as will be seen by-and-by, looked upon him as their God-sent minister until he fell asleep. As for the noble band of his personal friends, they were true to him to a man, they loved him and esteemed him, and all that were near to him—if it were possible better than ever before—and the only question among them was as to who should enjoy the privilege of doing most for him.

Where was he to live ? What was he to do ? Let the matter be realized. He had just completed the fifty-eighth year of his life ; by his side stood his helpmate, the brave and gentle Augusta, and four children, three sons and a daughter. Lebrecht, the oldest, held a tutorship ;* Wilhelm was just beginning to make his way, and Theodor was still pursuing his studies ; and there was Adalberta, the only surviving daughter (another daughter, Justine, had died in childhood). She was a merry child of eleven summers, whom the good Ebel used to call his “jubilee-gift,” because she, the long wished-for daughter, had come just two days before the twenty-fifth anniversary of his ordination ; her bright ways and constant mirthfulness were like sunshine to him in the gloom of the dismal suit. This charming

* The Rev. Lebrecht Ebel settled in Pomerania, where he found a fast and true friend in Count von Münchow, see pp. 141, 203. He died at Berlin, and was buried at Sallentin in 1872, and his two surviving sons hold positions in the postal service of Germany.

Christian household, united in love, had to be scattered, for though Adelberta would go with her parents, the sons had to be left behind, and that was a great and sore trial to Ebel and his wife, especially to her ; for though one and all were good, dear children, brought up in the fear of God, and devotedly attached to their parents, and though provision had been made for their comfort, yet the old home would be broken, the tender ministrations of that mother and the wise counsel of the father be withheld from them. That was what deprivation meant in the family which affected all alike in the sorrow it occasioned. Nevertheless there was no deeper gloom, clouds were passing over them, and they saw and felt their shadow for a moment, but presently sunlight burst in upon them. There came a letter from Pomerania, from Ebel's old and true friend, Count Carl von Münchow, a gallant soldier, and a soldier of Christ, inviting him to live on his estate, on which he placed a house and garden at his disposal ; and Eduard von Hahnenfeld sent kindly greetings, begging him to accept on his estate a new house and a garden in token of his love. It was difficult at first to reach a decision, for he could not accept both offers, and both were as much beloved by Ebel as they loved him. But ultimately it was decided to accept that of Hahnenfeld, who likewise invited the Countess Ida to come along, and so the family went to Grunenfeld in East Prussia, chiefly because it was so much nearer to Königsberg than the delightful Pomeranian home of Münchow. Also Baron E. von Heyking and his wife were induced to come to Grunenfeld ; the baroness lived there until she fell asleep in 1869.

Six happy years they spent in the rural retirement of Grunenfeld ; the busy, stirring activity of the Königs-

berg charge was changed for literary pursuits, and the intellectual bias of all that were there, the eminent social virtues and graces of the hospitable, warm-hearted Hahnenfeld and his amiable, interesting wife, the bright sallies of the gifted Countess Ida, made the little colony a haven of blissful repose. It was not by any means lonely there ; the innocent prattle of childhood kept them all lively enough ; the present owner of the paternal estate, Friedrich, was then a merry little boy ; during those years his two sisters were born, and that meant not only joyous baptismal celebrations, but unbroken daily animation ; visitors would come and go, and the summer and Christmas vacations reunited for the time all the scattered members of the family. Then there were the diversified pleasures of a pure country life ; the estate was quite extensive and the tenantry and laborers not a few in number. And Hahnenfeld was a very kind and just lord, respected and beloved for his sympathy and thoughtfulness. At Christmas the village youth gathered round stately spruce trees, gaily illuminated with a profusion of wax lights amid golden ornaments symbolic of the heavens above in sun and moon and stars, and angels, and of the earth beneath from every kingdom of nature, clusters of fruit in gorgeous hues as it grew in sunny climes, or more wondrous still, had been produced by the art of the glass-blower, the tinsmith or the confectioner in harmonious juxtaposition with lambs and dogs, and perhaps some diminutive elephant, horse or whale of marchpane dangling, oh, so joyously and kindly from the glossy twigs and branches of the Christmas-tree, at the base of which there were still other marvels in the shape of sheep-folds, and arks of Noah, and dolls with domestic establish-

ments, whips and knives, fur caps and skates and books, drums and harmonicas, trumpets with green tassels and crimson lining, and sundry more which Christkindchen had got from all manner of places, for all manner of folk who sang Christmas carols and celebrated the birthday of the Lord Jesus, and went home happy and delighted and blessing the good lord of the manor who was such a favorite with Christkindchen that all these precious things were left at the manor for the special happiness of the Grunenfeld village children.

A visit to Königsberg in the winter of 1846-'47 by Ebel and his family was marked by an incident quite touching in its way. He sent his daughter Adelberta to Pastor Schulz, archdeacon of the Löbnicht Church, to attend his lectures for confirmation. It is customary in the Lutheran Church that the parents of the catechumens offer to the minister on that occasion a honorarium. Ebel, of course, observed the custom in the case of his daughter, but Schulz had his own views on the subject, and wrote the following very commendable letter :

“Most Honored Brother:—If you deem me worthy to address you as my brother, it follows that betwixt brothers in the ministry the question of remuneration for little services is entirely out of order.

“ You have honored and greatly rejoiced me in committing the instruction of your loved child to my care, and making choice of me to undertake for her your own sacred work of confirming her. I really do not know which of us two is the other’s greater debtor. I, for my part, cannot but feel that I am bound to be grateful. At all events we are fully even, and any external expression of gratitude tendered to me is wholly out of the question. You will, therefore, kindly pardon your brother his return of the enclosure.

“ But the love and friendship of yourself and your dear

family I feel rejoiced and proud to accept, and beg that you keep in your heart a place in remembrance of me, etc., etc.

“ KÖNIGSBERG, 17th April, 1847.”

The same clergyman had previously confirmed Miss Salome von Saucken, an early friend of Miss Ebel, who has lived at Hoheneck since 1870. She is the granddaughter of Colonel de la Chevallerie, whose work on Schönherr is mentioned in the literature given in Appendix C.

The annual harvest-home at Grunenfeld was also a most delightful affair. It took place at the end of the ingathering of the fruits of the field ; all the laborers, the reapers of both sexes, in picturesque attire, led by the first reaper, appeared in procession before the manor-house, the latter carrying a wreath of ears gaily ornamented with flowers and ribbons, which he presented to Hahnenfeld according to ancient usage, repeating the customary ditty, concluding with a rousing *Lebe hoch* (Long and happy life to the lord of the manor and his family) vigorously echoed by all the rest, to which Hahnenfeld responded, saying : “ Prosperity to all the trusty Grunenfelders,” etc. Then followed a sumptuous repast, which terminated in a general dance, to the more especial delight of the young folk. There was an amusing incident in the harvest-home of 1843. The dance was cheerily progressing on a meadow by a lake when night set in ; the genial Hahnenfeld ordered an illumination by causing several tar barrels to be set on fire by the lake, with the result that the bright flames shot up high into the air, and their flickering splendor bathed the meadow and dancers in a picturesque flood of light. Not long after, when gay rejoicing was at its height, a thundering noise was heard

approaching over the village street, and there appeared a fire engine with a full complement of firemen from the neighboring village of Vogelsang; for the kindly Vogelsangers, having noticed the bright reflection of the flames, and unable to account for it, thought that Grunenfeld was on fire, and came in hot haste to aid in putting it out. They were, of course, delighted to find that their help was fortunately not required, and as there was no need of their services in that respect they made themselves useful in another, to the intense gratification of the village maidens, who found that the corps of dancers had been strongly recruited by the good firemen.

In addition to what has been said of Hahnenfeld*, a few words relating to his character, life, and family may not be deemed superfluous. He was a most excellent man, very benevolent, highly accomplished, a universal favorite with all that knew him, and felt the happy influence of his simple, earnest, consistent Christian life. He wrote two works of considerable merit bearing on Ebel's persecution, the first entitled, "*Ein Moment aus den 'Mittheilungen' des Consistorialrath Kähler über das 'Leben und die Schriften' seines Vaters, beleuchtet von E. von Hahnenfeld,*" Braunsberg, 1856; the second, "*Die religiöse Bewegung zu Königsberg,*" etc., *ib.*, 1858. He was called home March 20, 1868, and his excellent consort followed him in 1873. The blessing of those good parents rests upon their children. Friedrich, the present lord of the manor, and his amiable, kindly wife, imitate in every respect the noble example of their sainted predecessors; and three children, as well as the presence of

* See p. 138.

their good aunts, the daughters of our Hahnenfeld, contribute their share in preserving the happiness of the dear home where Ebel lived until 1848. May the blessing of God Almighty long continue among them. "The memory of the just is blessed."

In the spring of 1848 it was thought necessary that Ebel, whose health had become affected by incessant toil, exposure, and grief, should visit Marienbad, in Bohemia, the virtue of whose waters had been very beneficial to him before. Count Kanitz had two years before (1846), for similar reasons, retired from office* and gone to Italy in quest of health. It was agreed that the Countess and he should meet the Ebels at Marienbad, and there they formed the plan of living together at Meran, in the Tyrol, which had been specially recommended to them.

And that plan was carried out ; the friends who spent two delightful years together at Meran were Ebel and his family, Count and Countess Kanitz, and Countess Ida. There, in the presence of that beautiful, majestic nature, where Meran nestles in the bosom of the most beautiful valley of the Tyrol, the "Motherland" and the "Paradise of the Tyrol," as the Tyrolese call it, on the banks of the Passer, in an ancient Carthusian monastery, romantically situated with an outlook upon the everlasting mountains, the beautiful highlands, and the enchanting vale, the northern wanderers sat down to rest. The poetic mind of the Countess Ida expatiated on the ever changing but ever charming glories of that sunny spot, as the reader may see by reference to the poem, *Die Wendung*, given in Appendix C. As her eye ranged

* See p. 159.

over the lofty mountain chain and beheld on their rocky altar the smoking clouds, it was to her symbolic of the kinship of earth and heaven ; as it traversed downwards over the emerald velvet of the hanging gardens into the umbrageous windings of the fertile valley, where the peach and the almond pair, the one stretching its rosy arms to heaven, and the other adorning it with lily blossoms, it feasted on the wilderness of vineyards, with their glossy leaves and purple clusters (the delight of the Meranese and many a feeble one coming from afar to that fascinating spot for the grape-cure), the silver groves of the olive, the beautiful fig-tree, which thrice a year bears fruit to the occupant of the rocks, on whose tops, under the eternal white, stand kindly, modest churches, and rosy dawn softly reflected in the limpid ice under an ever mellow sun perpetually unites the beautiful and the sublime. The simplicity, frankness, and piety of the Tyrolese are proverbial, and the beautiful Alpine rose was to Countess Ida the emblem of a handsome race, transmitting from the hoary past the familiar address by the baptismal name alone.* Then there were excursions without number along the Passer and the Etsch, and the mountains, the Jaufen the Mendelspitz, the Marlinger, the Rosenstein. Ah ! that Carthusian cell was unspeakably dear to them all, so sweet a resting-place, but also a working-place, for there the Countess not only wrote poems, she likewise wrote there *Die Liebe zur Wahrheit*, and Ebel began at Meran the *Philosophie der heiligen Urkunde*; there was music and sketching, and endless delight—it was to all of them an earthly paradise of blissful repose.

The residence at Meran proved physically very beneficial to Ebel and Kanitz, and when they felt stronger

they naturally thought of a permanent settlement elsewhere, and recrossed the mountains.

In 1850 they bade adieu to Meran and went to Hoheneck, in the friendly Neckar Valley, where Countess Ida had decided permanently to locate, and bought a country-seat, of course, not for herself only, but likewise for the Ebel family, of which she regarded herself a member. Kanitz lived first for some time at Stetten, in Hohenzollern, and in 1854 he too settled down at Ludwigsburg, near by, with summer visits to Hoheneck.

About a year later came the sorrowful tidings that Theodor, Ebel's youngest son, who, upon the completion of his university course, had passed an excellent examination as doctor of philosophy and principal teacher, and received an appointment, succumbed to a complication of hepatic and pulmonary troubles. It was a sad blow, but as he had been a great sufferer, his release from pain was the sweet in the bitter cup ; he fell asleep in Jesus, and that was a precious consolation ; they sorrowed indeed, but they sorrowed like Christians, and Ebel turned to the beautiful and triumphant passages 1 Cor. xv. 12-58, and 1 Thess. iv. 13-18 for comfort, saying he was content and resigned, and grateful for his deliverance, and rejoiced for the sufferer's sake.

—“*Er ist engangen
Aller Noth und Pein, die uns noch hält gefangen.*”

Mrs. Ebel, ever cheerful and courageous, felt his departure as only a mother can feel, and her tender heart sought refuge in tears which she could not restrain, and gave vent to her grief.

Hoheneck is a small village ; the people are poor, for

α ω
Wer ist Ihr mein Lehrer,
Wer mein Vertrauter,
Wer als Füllt mich ganz Lehrer
Wer mir Freiheit in die Freiheit:
Erlöser meines Leidens,
Wer ist mir in diesem Augenblick!

Seine Erfahrung in Freuden und Leidern
1850

Fac-simile of an inscription in the hand-writing of Ebel on the fly-leaf of a *Gesangbuch* bought on his arrival at Hoheneck.

The two Greek letters at the top are the *alpha* and *omega*, and illustrate how Ebel did and held everything in Jesus.

The stanza itself characterizes his love of Jesus, and the feelings with which he greeted the congenial companionship of the strongly biblical Württembergers.

the most part laborers in the vineyards which clothe the hillsides ; some also mechanics ; but they are a true, warm-hearted, simple folk, devout and, like many Württembergers, earnest Christians. The arrival of Ebel and Countess Ida was a great blessing to them everyways. Ebel's active and creative mind found in that haven of rest ample leisure for the production of several very important works. In 1852 he published *Grundzüge der Erkenntniss der Wahrheit* ; in 1854-1855-1856, *Die Philosophie der heiligen Urkunde*, and some minor essays. Countess Ida wrote, and published in 1856, *Wissenschaft und Bibel*.

What with these literary pursuits, the delightful companionship of congenial friends, the resources of refined culture, the reading of good books, the diversions of music and painting, the family life at Hoheneck was singularly happy. A member of the family speaks of it in her letters to me as "heaven upon earth." The terrible religious suit was rarely so much as mentioned ; it belonged to the past, and Ebel deemed it one of the blessings for which he felt peculiarly grateful, that he never *dreamt* of it. God had given him a cheerful, happy disposition, he abounded in humor and was a delightful conversationalist ; and when he and Kanitz, the Countess Ida and Mrs. Ebel began to talk of the past they had themes vastly more pleasant to discuss than the miseries of the religious suit. There were old and fond reminiscences and associations which they had in common. There was one, *e. g.*, that took them back to the sunny past when Ebel was still at Hermsdorf, and Kanitz a gay cavalier and Countess Ida unmarried, and the news came to Königsberg that their young friend Ebel had been so great a sufferer in the loss of his belongings by the war.

The genial poet Max von Schenkendorf, a fast friend of Ebel, took it into his head to do something for him. The Auerswalds, it will be remembered, were very hospitable and their house the centre of whatever was refined and noble. At that time (1806-1809) the royal family lived with them in the castle. Among other *agrément*s they had set up a private theatre, and members of the Auerswald family and their young friends cultivated private theatricals. Schenkendorf sometimes composed the pieces and assigned the parts. Well, he interested Kanitz, the Countess Ida, and her fiancé Count von der Gröben, and others, to get up a representation with an admission, the proceeds to benefit a young clergyman (Ebel) who had been injured by the war. This was duly announced, and the royal family as well as many other distinguished people appeared in goodly numbers, and everything went off to the entire satisfaction of all concerned, and the proceeds were sent to Hermsdorf. Kanitz appeared that night in the character of a *parson*. That was a grand joke and occasioned much merriment. Yes, Mrs. Ebel would say, when she came as bride to Königsberg, Kanitz was a recognized leader, a veritable *maitre de plaisir*, the man "who made thunder and lightning," and that would, of course, be irresistible, to think of that grave and learned judge, a sexagenarian, in that way. And Countess Ida would join in and tell how fond her hero was of Ebel, which would be confirmed by Mrs. Ebel who remembered how he, naturally somewhat reserved, was so delighted to see him on one occasion that he shook him by the head.

In connection with the period to which this charming reminiscence belongs, it affords me pleasure to introduce a passage from the autobiography of Count Charles of

Münchow,* sent by a friend, which incidentally illustrates the social life at Königsberg and introduces quite a number of persons with whom we have already made acquaintance.

"Through the instrumentality of my friend Count Wilhelm von der Gröben, who was engaged to Miss Ida, the second daughter of the governor, I was introduced to the Auerswald family, an introduction to which I am greatly indebted for my social culture. The tone in that noble family was a happy mixture of the loftiest refinement, and informal, æsthetic mirth. Occasionally I met there scholars, artists and distinguished strangers; among the younger visitors of the house were amateurs of the fine arts, some of them my particular friends, *e. g.*, Max von Schenkendorf the poet, the Counts Ernst and Karl Kanitz who painted, and Count Wilhelm von der Gröben, who had an excellent tenor voice. Miss Ida, a most amiable young lady, combined great talents with an unusual intellect. She wrote poems, and hers was altogether an eminently tender, poetical feminine temperament. . . . A singularly amiable young man was the nephew of Mrs. von Auerswald, Charles Count of Dohna-Schlodien. I made also at that time the acquaintance of his tutor Dr. Ebel, the archdeacon and preacher of the Old-Town Church, the most valuable acquaintance I ever made, and which affected the whole of my subsequent life."

There is a mysterious chain by which friends separated by great distance, without preconcerted arrangement, at momentous periods of their existence are brought into *rappo*rt, a term here used to designate uncommon nearness in thought and feeling. That such a rapport exists will probably be admitted on all hands, however much authorities may differ as to its explanation. A

* See p. 141.

curious instance seems to be the following. The name of Frau Consentius has been mentioned in these pages.* That excellent lady died at Königsberg about sunset, September 7, 1854. In the same hour, Ebel and his family were on their way from Marienbad (where they had spent some time for his especial benefit) to Hoheneck, near the neighborhood of Lichtenfels in Bavaria. They noticed from their carriage a singularly beautiful illumination; the air was clear and the heavens were resplendent in azure, crimson and golden tints, suggestive to them of the heavenly Jerusalem, so Ebel led and the others joined in singing the beautiful stanza:

*“ Wie herrlich ist die neue Welt
Die Gott den Frommen vorbehält,
Kein Mensch kann sie erwerben.
O Jesu! Herr der Herrlichkeit!
Du hast die Stät' auch mir bereit,
Hilf sie mir auch ererben!
Einen kleinen Blick in jene Freudenscene
Gönn' mir Schwachen—
Mir den Abschied leicht zu machen !”*

In that particular hour, perhaps while the last three lines were being sung, the spirit of that ripe Christian burst its earthly prison-house and soared on high. Her then only surviving daughter soon after her bereavement took up her permanent home at Hoheneck (1855), in order to be near her dearest friends till death did them part (she died in 1865).

Perhaps the most touching and most beautiful of the many red-letter days in the calendar of that happy Hoheneck life was November 23, 1856, the jubilee of

* See p. 143.

Ebel's ordination. It was a day of solemn rejoicing and profound gratitude to Lord God Almighty, and the measure of Ebel's bliss was full to overflowing, when faithful members of his Old-Town congregation caused to be presented to him a fine silver goblet, lined with gold, exhibiting among other inscriptions these two : "In memory of fifty years consecrated to the service of the Most High, Novr. 23, 1806 to Novr. 23, 1856 ;" and "Heaven and earth shall pass away, but my words shall not pass away." (Matth. xxiv. 25). They were well chosen and carried a profound meaning. The Scripture citation gives the text of the sermon preached at his ordination,* and emphasizes the fact that the kind donors intended it to characterize his blessed ministry, while the first inscription was a silent protest against the unjust sentence, and an eloquent avowal that in spite of it, he was their loved pastor still, and that they delighted to take part in that touching jubilee.

Another annual red-letter day was the fourth of March, Ebel's birthday, which was always celebrated with peculiar rejoicing, when each and all would try their utmost to gladden him with the very best and most beautiful tokens their love could devise. By a singular coincidence it became likewise the day of Countess Ida's departure. The association must be my apology for a chronological anticipation. That departure did not take place until 1868, and the interval between that year and 1856, our last date, besides the appearance of the remarkable work *Wissenschaft und Bibel*,† which she wrote in her sixty-fifth year, was filled with acts of self-denial and benevolence. As in mind, in faith, in love she retained the

* See p. 39

† See Appendix C.

ardor and freshness of youth to the last, so she was physically free from sickness, and only fatigued. Miss Ebel, to whom Ida was a second mother and an elder sister, and who loved and loves her beyond expression, gives this touching account of her death :

“ In the afternoon of that day she called me, with a joyous ring in her voice, from the adjoining room, and when I answered the summons she laid herself in my arms, sweetly closed her eyes and gently breathed her last. Our physician, astounded at what had occurred, said: ‘ The countess has not tasted the bitterness of death,’ and pointing to her sleeping countenance, added: ‘ The picture of peace.’ Thus the fourth day of March is to us

“ Father’s birthday into the life of earth,
Ida’s birthday into the life of heaven.

“ My mother, like myself the recipient of such untold love from the departed, opened, as was her wont, the Bible at random, and it was like light from above as her eyes fell on: ‘ But the souls of the righteous are in the hand of God, and there shall no torment touch them. In the sight of the unwise they seem to die, and their departure is taken for misery, and their going from us to be utter destruction: but they are in peace. For though they be punished in the sight of men, yet is their hope full of immortality. And having been a little chastised, they shall be greatly rewarded: for God proved them, and found them worthy for himself. As gold in the furnace hath he tried them, and received them as a burnt offering. And in the time of their visitation they shall shine, and run to and fro like sparks among the stubble. They shall judge the nations, and have dominion over the people, and their Lord shall reign forever. They that put their trust in him shall understand the truth: and such as be faithful in love shall abide with him, for grace and mercy is to his saints, and he hath care for his elect.’—(Wisd. iii. 1-9.)

A more appropriate passage, telling in almost every word, could not be found in any other part of the Bible ; it reads as if it had been expressly composed for her, and the manner of its finding, also, was an ineffably sweet consolation to her sorrowing friends.

A great trouble and grief to Ebel and his friends was the persistent repetition and distortion of the calumnies so assiduously circulated at the time of the persecution, by the press and in works of reference. How by the "Aufklärung" and the indomitable energy of Kanitz, all this has been changed is known to the reader. It is very pleasant to think, however, that *before* the "Aufklärung" had been published, and during the lifetime of Ebel, there appeared in 1861, in Wagner's *Staats- und Gesellschafts-Lexicon* the first of a long line of articles in vindication of his memory, from which *instar omnium* a passage is here given for two reasons : First, because it is the only one that Ebel saw, and proved a veritable balm to his wounded spirit ; secondly, because its very existence was unknown to the writer until within the last few weeks, when it was kindly forwarded to him, and it confirms the views of the whole matter advocated in these pages. The article in question begins thus : "EBEL, Johann Wilhelm. This doctor of philosophy, and preacher at Königsberg, in Prussia, with George Heinrich Diestel, his brother minister and brother in tribulation (whom on that account we include in this article), in spite of the entire and thorough confutation of the charges preferred against them, and in utter disregard of the results of the great state-suit acquitting them (1842) of the charge of founding a sect, is mentioned in modern church history in a manner that renders it absolutely necessary to remind historians of

the first duties of historical justice." After enumerating the works whose pages are disfigured and disgraced by such false and frivolous statements, the author continues: "To say nothing of pamphlets, the current popular press, and liberal* compilations (e.g., *Das Conversations Lexicon der letzten zehn Jahre*, von Reichenbach, Leipzig, 1844), there runs through the most widely circulated manuals and text-books of history, an accusation which, in spite of the acquitting judgment of the Berlin Kammergericht, their learned authors have borne to examine and investigate. Even before the termination of the suit the published apologies of Ebel and Diestel (given below) contained data sufficient to test the lithographed communications, as well as those of von Wegnern, but they were not looked at any more than the work of Mrs. von Bardeleben (also mentioned below). But scholars cannot afford any longer to ignore the thorough work of E. von Hahnenfeld (*Die religiöse Bewegung*, etc.), unless they wish to issue the certificate of their moral death in the field of historical inquiry. A former pamphlet by the same author: (*Ein Moment aus den Mittheilungen des Consistorialraths Kähler*, etc.), might bring home to the consciousness of the men of the lecture-room the superiority of a pure conscience and a well-founded conviction to the superficiality of the learned in their evasions, assaults and admissions. The time will yet come for the due appreciation of the work of Frau von Bardeleben. In the crisis which soon must overtake liberalism, the liberalism of Königsberg and its mythical personification in Schön (who played so important a part in the suit

* Liberal, *i. e.*, skeptical.

against Ebel and Diestel) will doubtless be justly dealt with." A copy of Wagner's article was thoughtfully sent to Ebel, who exclaimed after its perusal concerning the author : "Charity—rejoiceth not in iniquity, but rejoiceth in the truth." (1 Cor. xiii., 6), and got some one to read out in the family the hymn :

*"Mein Dankopfer, Herr, ich bringe,
So mir recht von Herzen geht,
Ueber deine Wunderdinge
Wird mein Geist zu dir erhöht,
Gott, ich freue mich, mein Leben
Ist ganz deinem Lob ergeben,"* etc.*

It had come in time, three weeks later it would have come too late, for a long-expected message, a message joyously though not impatiently expected, arrived before it began to dawn at Hoheneck in the early hours of August 18th, 1861, and the spirit of Ebel saw the sun which never rises and never sets in the many-mansioned house. The event was one which he knew in those days of chronic infirmity, occasionally stayed by the use of the Kreuzbrunnen at Marienbad, must soon set in. The excessive heat of that summer hastened it. He looked forward with unspeakable delight to the time when he should "get home." He would speak about it with the family, and in his love and tenderness comfort them by instancing the example of St. Paul, who had looked forward with such unmixed delight to the time

* I have to apologize for not translating the hymns and poetry introduced. *Literal* translation frequently murders, and almost always vitiates the thought. *Free* translation is not much better, for it often becomes either paraphrase, or misinterpretation. A poet only can do justice to the matter.

when he should meet Jesus. Why should they grudge him the same delight? His dear friend Kanitz was very ill at the time and needed the utmost care; he was afraid that the news of his own departure might shock him, and so he said to his family: "Tell Kanitz gradually." He had long since forgiven his persecutors, and learned to pity them, and in the spirit of the first martyr to pray for them. The last day he spent on earth he said with great emphasis: "Tell all my enemies—no, I will not call them enemies—tell them all that I forgive them—oh! how do I forgive them." Towards evening he exclaimed: "Jesus is my life;" somewhat later: "O Jesus, Jesus receive my spirit." He fell into a slumber, and slept, gently breathing, for several hours; the breath grew fainter, and in the early morning watch the spirit had left the tenement of clay. They said of him in life and they said of him in death, that his noble face resembled Christ, others that it was the countenance of an angel. Those expressions, of course, are speculative and imaginary, but he *was*, what kindly folk wished to convey by them, a true follower of the Lord Jesus Christ, and all his life long an angel of peace and love. What he was to his Old-Town church, to all his dear friends, and to his family, has been abundantly described in the preceding pages; but it remains to be told how dearly the good Würtembergers loved him; the good minister at Hoheneck, Pastor Römer, deemed it one of the greatest blessings of his life to enjoy the friendship of Ebel and Countess Ida. A plain working-man was so overcome with sorrow that he gave vent to it in the words: "When I heard that the doctor had died, I felt like standing on my head—the house is empty, the dearest has gone." Nor was this feeling

evanescent ; those plain, true, simple folk feel strongly, deeply and lastingly ; quite recently, twenty years after Ebel's departure, a good Hohenecker told his daughter with great enthusiasm—for the man is advanced in years and labor is no longer easy to him : “ Miss, if your father could be brought back from heaven, *I should carry him here !* ”

It was a matter of great anxiety to the family to have the remains of the departed as near to them as possible, There was, indeed, the Hoheneck “ God's-acre,” as the Germans beautifully call a cemetery or burying-place, but it lies near the Neckar, and is damp, and on that account it was not favored. But the garden, on high ground, suggested itself for the purpose, and gave rise to the desire, with the permission of the proper authorities, of having a family vault made, and to erect a chapel over it. That permission was sought, and very early in the morning of August 21, 1861, an express messenger brought the good tidings that the application had been granted, to wit : that the family was allowed to build a vault, etc., and to deposit the precious remains temporarily in the summer-house of the park, a structure of solid masonry that had stood there for many years. A few hours later the bells of the Hoheneck church began to toll, and twelve men, who had volunteered to act as carriers, lifted the coffin, rendered invisible under a hillock of floral offerings, and bore it, accompanied by the family and a large number of friends from near and far, along the winding path, on which flowers had been spread, to its temporary resting-place. The burgess of the village and Pastor Römer led the procession, and the latter officiated.

Then the work was taken in hand and the vault com-

pleted during the mild winter of 1861-'62; a Gothic hexagonal chapel of gray sandstone was built over it; over the portal appears the figure of an angel bearing in his hands a scroll with the inscription, in gilt letters, "I live, ye shall live also" (*Ich lebe, und ihr sollt auch leben*) —John xiv. 19. No accident marred the successful completion of the work; no disagreement or contention among the laborers employed in it, and the architect gratefully confessed that the genius of peace had rested on the whole work from first to last. When summer returned and the sun shone bright, the bell of the Hohen-eck Church was tolled again, and another procession carried the departed from the summer-house to the height of the garden, where, in the midst of trees, stands the memorial chapel. Pastor Römer duly consecrated the spot, and committed to the bosom of the earth the mortal remains of Johann Wilhelm Ebel. An appropriate oration on the Resurrection was pronounced by him, of which this was the concluding sentence: "And may our blessed Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ be thy light and thy shield, and thy exceeding great reward;" and because of the victorious faith of Ebel he called the chapel "The Chapel of the Resurrection," but it is generally known as "the Gothic Hall" or the "Mausoleum." There, in that beautiful, lofty, sunny spot are enshrined his mortal remains; his immortal remains live in his works and the memory of his blessed ministry. A touching instance of the value attached to those works is that which follows: Some time after Ebel's departure Pastor Römer made this announcement to his congregation: The day before, he said, while preparing to discourse on Luke xiv. 16-24, he had taken up Ebel's sermon on "The Essentials of the Christian Life" (*Was es gilt im Christenthum*), and

found it so superior to anything he could say on the subject that he concluded it would be more edifying to read it than to preach one himself, adding : " You and I then, must imagine to sit at the feet of this man, who is now in the presence of God," and then proceeded to read the entire sermon.

In the summer of 1863 Mrs. Ebel's brother, Mr. Bernhardt Leinweber, the honest, warm-hearted farmer, the same who brought them a wain full of farm produce on the eve of their departure from Königsberg, paid them a visit at Hoheneck. Being a stranger in the place, he asked one of the village people, would he please direct him to the house of the Ebel family ; he said he came from Prussia and wished to visit them. The word " Prussia " and the Prussian speech did not please the good Suabian, who suspected the honest farmer of some sinister purpose, and instead of complying with his request made answer : " From Prussia ! Why did you Prussians persecute Dr. Ebel, that man of God, as you have done ? " Bernhardt assured the Hohenecker that he was quite innocent of the matter, that he was Mrs. Ebel's brother, and that he had come solely for the purpose to thank the family and Count Kanitz for all the good they had done him. Then the Hoheneck man believed Bernhardt and showed him the house. Countess Ida met him, and extending her hand to him, which he kissed, after the simple and touching fashion of his country, said to him : " Dear Mr. Leinweber, we are glad that you have come to see us," and he said that such a welcome was " a cordial " after the critical reception of the Hoheneck villager.

And as betokening the value of his example of triumphant faith may be mentioned this incident : In 1869 a

gentleman, a lawyer, who never knew Ebel while alive, visited the family at Hoheneck, and was so strongly impressed with what he heard of him that he wrote to the family afterwards :

“ Before I went to Hoheneck I had read his sermons, but I did not understand then, as I do now, the effect they must have produced on his hearers. He preached Christ risen from the dead, but that is nothing peculiar ; have not many hundred thousand preachers before him, or his contemporaries, or others after him, preached the same doctrine ? But the people believed Ebel ; they received as true his message concerning Jesus and the resurrection ; he had the gift of kindling the divine spark in the hearts of his hearers. This is the conviction which has grown on me during my visit to Hoheneck ; I judge of the tree by its fruits. The people believed what he preached, and *they believed that he believed it* ; that is the great difference between him and so many other preachers. ‘ That was a beautiful sermon, if it only were true what he has preached about Jesus and our resurrection ! ’ Hopeful doubts ! That is the most favorable comment I remember in connection with the most beautiful sermons I ever heard preached at Easter and the Ascension Day. Assurance of faith, absolute and immovable, is a plant of rare growth ; and my belief is that the belief of the resurrection of Christ is a living belief in the colony at Hoheneck, and that it has been wrought by Ebel, and that is the most important thing I carried away with me from Hoheneck.”*

In the month of March, 1868, the vault was opened to receive the mortal remains of the sweet Countess Ida. During the oration there appeared in the heavens a beautiful rainbow, a touching reminiscence of the lofty

* The daughter of this gentleman, Miss Mina Steinwender, lives with Miss Ebel at Villa Ida.

Christian sentiment in one of her poems (25 "Erfüllung," in *Morgenwache*, p. 52) which allegorizes the rainbow as the precursor of the covenant of peace, the visible witness of the grace of God inclining to earth, betokening in the splendor of each of the color-members the splendor of the inward peace of every member of the kingdom of peace, and in their harmonious blending that that peace is the result of the united weapons of truth.

In December, 1869, the same vault received a third occupant. This time it was the truly good and patient widowed Augusta Ebel, whose body they lowered to rest by the side of her husband's. She too had known during a brief illness that it meant going home, although her heart was full to overflowing with the tenderest love for her surviving children and all that loved Jesus, yet her truly Christian rejoicing in the expected, long yearned-for admission to the dear home above was strongest in her. She prayed much with her children, and her mind being stored with the rich hymnology of the Lutheran Church, she loved not only to repeat but to join in the singing of these tender and pathetic hymns. "In the name of God I go!" she joyfully exclaimed, and it is truly touching and edifying to put on record the fact that while the children were singing—

*"Führe mich endlich, o Jesu, in's ewige Leben,
Welches du Allen, die glauben, versprochen zu geben,
Da ich bei Gott,
Ohne Noth, Jammer und Tod,
Ewig in Freuden werd' schweben,"*

her soul soared aloft on angels' wings, and when the music ceased she had ceased to breathe. The spectacle of her triumphant faith softened the deep grief of that

separation, and was the balm of heaven to the stricken ones.

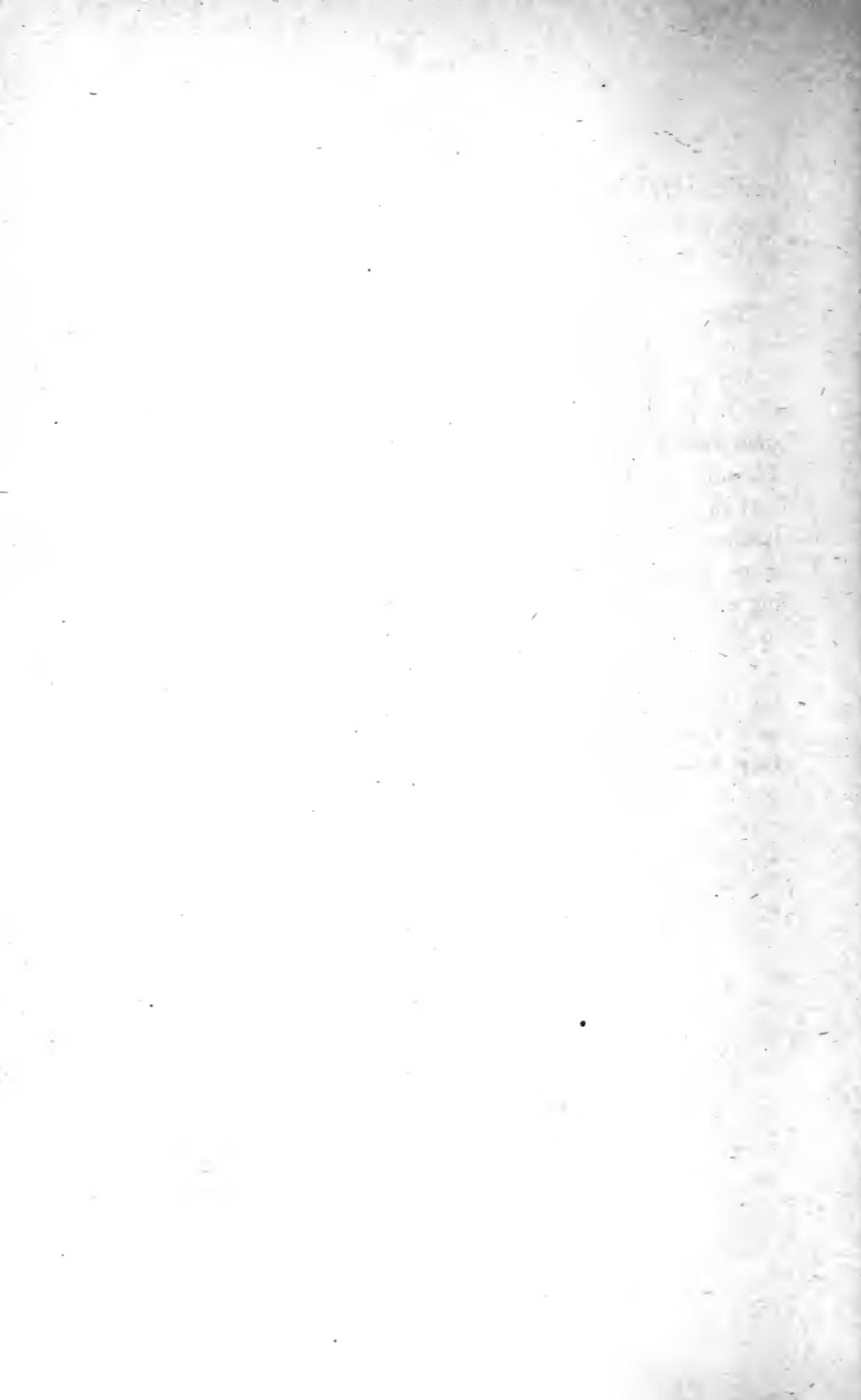
The letter which brought me these sorrowful tidings conveyed likewise the equally sorrowful intelligence of the demise, only a few days before, of the noble and faithful Kanitz. His great work, the *Aufklärung*, was beginning to bear abundant fruit. It had renewed his strength and rejuvenated him, and from far and near came constant tokens that the blessing of heaven rested upon that work and labor of love. He had succeeded in establishing the innocence and vindicating the memory of his sainted friend ; he had proved to the world that he had been persecuted for righteousness' sake, and, under God, that excellent man had brought forth his righteousness as the light and his judgment as the noon-day (Ps. xxxvii. 6). That was the happiness of his declining days, still further heightened by his constant thoughtfulness for others, by countless benefactions, and by ever dwelling on some new device to gladden his friends. Like Ebel's widow, he lived to fourscore years, and when a brief illness laid him low, in full, clear consciousness of the impending change, and in joyous expectation of the rest in the heavenly home, he told his friends "to greet them all," and committing his soul to God he fell asleep, and his mortal remains lie by the side of Countess Charlotte in God's-acre at Ludwigsburg.

The kind friend who wrote me all this in a beautiful letter touchingly informed me that I was infallibly included in the number of the *all* to whom Kanitz sent his valedictory greetings ; she, too, the exemplary, devoted, faithful, sainted Matilda von Derschau, belongs (since 1878) to the increasing number of my friends in the home above ; and her remains have found their last

resting-place in the same God's-acre at Ludwigsburg alongside the dear ones to whom for so many years she had so tenderly and lovingly ministered.

* * * * *

The composition of this volume has been a blessing to my own soul and a delight ; may it prove a blessing and a joy to all that read it. Of Ebel and Kanitz, the Countess Ida, and all the dear ones whom I have endeavored, however imperfectly, lovingly to commemorate, I would say, in conclusion, to their surviving friends by way of grateful remembrance, "The memory of the just is blessed" (Prov. x. 7), and to all, in view of what they were, and did, and suffered, and the beautiful and edifying example they set us, our precursors, I trust and pray, to that dear home which they have found, "I heard a voice from heaven saying unto me, write, Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord from henceforth ; yea, saith the Spirit, that they may rest from their labors; and their works do follow them" (Rev. xiv. 13).



SERMONS.

THE GREAT CHANGE WROUGHT IN US BY THE HOLY SPIRIT.

Ezekiel XXXVI. 26, 27.

Whitsun-Day, May 26, 1822.

“GOD be merciful unto us and bless us ; and cause his face to shine upon us, that thy way may be known upon earth, thy saving health among all nations. Let the people praise thee, O God ; let all the people praise thee. Let the words of our mouth and the meditation of our heart be acceptable in thy sight, O Lord, our strength and our redeemer. Create in us a clean heart, O God, and renew a right spirit within us. Cast us not away from thy presence, and take not thy Holy Spirit from us ; restore unto us the joy of thy salvation, and uphold us with thy free Spirit, for we will teach transgressors thy ways, and sinners shall be converted unto thee. Halleluia ! Amen.”

The hand of the Lord came upon the prophet and carried him out in the Spirit of the Lord, and set him down in the midst of a valley which was full of bones, and caused him to pass by them round about ; and behold, there were very many in the open valley ; and lo, they were very dry. And he said unto him, Son of man, can these bones live ? And the prophet said, O Lord God, thou knowest. Again he said unto him, Prophesy upon these bones, and say unto them :

O ye dry bones, hear the word of the Lord. Thus saith the Lord unto these bones: Behold, I will cause breath to enter into you, and ye shall live. And I will lay sinews upon you, and will bring up flesh upon you, and cover you with skin, and put breath in you, and ye shall live; and ye shall know that I am the Lord. So he prophesied as he was commanded, and as he prophesied there was a noise, and behold, a shaking, and the bones came together, bone to his bone. And when he beheld, lo, the sinews and the flesh came up upon them, and the skin covered them above; but there was no breath in them. Then said the Lord, Prophesy unto the wind, prophesy, son of man, and say to the wind, Thus saith the Lord God: Come from the four winds, O breath, and breathe upon these slain, that they may live. So he prophesied as he had commanded him, and the breath came into them, and they lived, and stood upon their feet, an exceeding great army.

When will these words be fulfilled in the people to whom they apply primarily? For these bones are the house of Israel. Their hope seems lost, and, as far as we are able to tell, their case is past all remedy. And when will they be fulfilled in us, who are as dry as they? Or are we not dried up? Is there in our midst the life of the first Christians, faith, hope and charity? The gospel indeed is preached among us, the gospel of the kingdom of God; its sound has gone forth into all the world, and it has been proclaimed from this pulpit freely and constantly three hundred years. But have we borne fruit? Have we walked in the Spirit—we that are destined to live in the Spirit—and are we really *alive*? We all, I ask, who outwardly receive the memorable events of this day, when a sound from heaven as of a rushing, mighty wind filled the house, and the Spirit of God filled the hearts of the first followers of the Lord, as with one accord they were assembled together? Have we risen from the dead, we who soon after our birth were solemnly dedicated to the Lord in Holy Baptism? Is the divine breath within us? Do we live in a higher element? Are we conscious of being

translated into the heavenly image? Is Christ *in* us the hope of glory? These very questions may be far from welcome to all, for they are the voice of a watchman, bidding all to rise from dead works to serve the living God; and how loath are the idle to be wakened from sleep? The dreamer, in his sweet illusion, fancies such a call inconvenient and troublesome, though it be intended to draw him back from the edge of a precipice down which he is in imminent peril to fall. Hence the question whether we be alive, and not dried up, may not be welcome to those who are required to apply it to themselves and not to others.

Nevertheless I am bidden: "Prophesy, son of man, and say to the wind, Thus saith the Lord God, Come, O wind, and breathe upon these slain, that they may be born out of God!" I am always bidden to proclaim this, whenever I stand up in your midst as an appointed preacher of the Word of God; but to-day—the anniversary of divine events, of the founding of the religion of the Spirit, of which we profess to be members—to-day, I say, I feel doubly the obligation of this solemn charge; for the Lord will establish a covenant of peace with us. It is to be an everlasting covenant; He will preserve and multiply us; we are to be His peculiar* people; He will be our God, and we shall be His people.

"My son, give me thy heart," he kindly says to each and all; "give me thy heart, and let thine eyes observe my ways!" If on the one hand we are constrained to own that this entreaty of the Lord of the world is infinitely honorable to man, and that on our compliance with it depends both our own welfare and that of those near and dear to us—our temporal welfare not less than our spiritual—and on the other, we cannot shut our eyes to the great difficulty of men to withdraw their heart from earth, and to receive the mind of Christ, the promises of these days that the Spirit of God shall be poured out upon all flesh, will be very beneficial to us, in order that our heart be torn from earth, and that faith, hope and charity

* His property.

be planted and rooted therein. They will be more beneficial as we realize the tumult and confusion of the times, the great and momentous events with which they are big, the all but universal effort to vindicate the *rights* of man, but the singular disregard of the necessity to restore the *dignity* of our nature ; how we strive after manhood and majority, in spite of our childishness and trifling, our want of discipline and self-consecration ; how with our superficiality and selfishness we are entangled in a false civilization which we fondly call culture, threatening to engulf us and our children on every side, and show all the time a security and carelessness, as if we were in profoundest peace and out of danger. Reflecting on such a state of things, we give vent to our feelings in offering the prayer of Isaiah (lxiv. 1, 2) : "Oh that thou wouldest rend the heavens, that thou wouldest come down, that the mountains might flow down at thy presence, as when the melting fire burneth, the fire causeth the waters to boil, to make thy name known to thine adversaries, that the nations may tremble at thy presence, through the terrible things which thou doest and we look not for."

Ezekiel xxxvi. 26, 27.

" And a new heart also will I give you, and a new spirit will I put within you : and I will take away the stony heart out of your flesh, and I will give you a heart of flesh, and I will put my spirit within you, and cause you to walk in my statutes, and ye shall keep my judgments, and do them."

How welcome must these words be to all that long for help out of Zion, and desire to be saved from this wicked world ; to be translated out of the dominion of darkness into the kingdom of the Son of God, to have part in the inheritance incorruptible, undefiled, and that fadeth not away, reserved for us in heaven. Yea, these words of prophecy are most welcome to us ; for they contain the Father's gracious promise that He will save us from all unrighteousness, and sanctify to Himself a peculiar people, zealous of good works. The storms of centuries have been unable to extinguish the splendor of this

glorious promise, renewing again and again the blessed assurance of our heavenly Father that the world should not perish, in that He has given us a new spirit and a new heart, turning the heart of stone into a heart of flesh, and changing us into a God-fearing people that keep His commandments and statutes to do them. "Look unto me and be ye saved, all the ends of the earth; for I am God and none else." He still declares: "Unto me every knee shall bow, every tongue shall swear; in the Lord is all righteousness and strength."

Let us then consecrate this feast to the consideration of the great truth that we also shall be saved from all unrighteousness, and clad in our wedding garment of righteousness and salvation, attain the praise of the glory of His grace, which has been revealed to us. Now *the great change which the Holy Spirit operates in us*, referred to in the words of our text, is a theme worthy of the solemnity of this hour, and appropriate to the event we celebrate, and we will now inquire

1. What it is?
2. How it is wrought?

And, O Lord God, cause us to realize to-day that thou desirest not that any of us should perish; let thy Holy Spirit dwell in our midst in the plentitude of His power; let us taste and see that thou art good, and know the exceeding greatness of thy power to us-ward who believe according to the working of the mighty power which thou hast wrought in Christ when thou didst raise Him from the dead and set Him at thy own right hand in the heavens. Create in us a clean heart, O God, and renew a constant spirit within us; cast us not away from thy presence, and take not thy Holy Spirit from us. Restore unto us thy joy of thy salvation, and uphold us with thy free Spirit. Amen.

I.

What is the great change wrought in us by the Holy Spirit? This is the question we have now to consider. It is very remarkable that Christianity insists not only on melioration, but wherever regeneration is referred to, not only on a partial

change of our nature, but on a total change in the spirit of our mind. "Except a man be born again," our Lord said to Nicodemus, "he cannot see the kingdom of God." The mere avoidance of gross excesses of sin, the bare show of outward decency without inward change in the hidden depths of our being, is of no value before God, and will not avail us anything in the day when we shall receive the just recompense of reward for the works we have done in the body, be they good or bad. For after the description of the Word of God man is corrupt through and through, and the more he strives to avoid the gross excesses of sin, so much the more is he wont to foster a spirit of pride and self-complacency, which is an abomination before God. In the graphic language of the Bible, the whole head is so sick, and the whole heart so faint, that they must be recreated in order to restore us to the image of Him that has called us out of darkness into light. Therefore nothing short of a new creature is availling in Christ Jesus, a totally changed mind, an entirely re-created nature, infinitely more than we are able to do in our own strength, vastly more than the highest measure of human strength has ever been able to achieve. We should faint and despair of our deliverance and salvation, if our conversion and renovation had to be accomplished by our own strength, therefore, saith the Lord God, "I will give you a new heart and a new constant spirit, I will do it, saith Jehovah." Then, forsooth, the faint and timid heart takes courage, saying :

Whom the Mighty One will aid,
Whom the Highest will exalt—
Nevermore can perish !

If *He* is willing, and *we* are willing, our case will succeed. But what is it that the Lord willeth ? and what is the great change he operates in us, so that we may know what we ought to will ? "A new heart will I give you, and a new spirit will I put within you," saith the Lord. His re-creation therefore is twofold, it relates both to the heart and to the spirit.

This is an important distinction, for the state of the mind is one thing, and the bent of our doings another. Certain states of feeling are ascribed to the heart, the direction of our efforts belongs to the spirit; but both the heart and the spirit are liable to error, naturally very perverse, and manifoldly corrupted.

We look first at the heart to know what God the Lord desires to effect therein. He will create in us a *new* heart, for by nature we have a stony heart; and this stony heart He will change into a heart of flesh, or according to the *sense* of the text, He will recreate it into a good and tender heart. The heart, the focus of our life, embraces all the sensations excited by outward impressions, or the events of the inward life. It is the heart which causes us to feel, after the naturalness of our being, either defiant or timid as long as the Spirit of the Lord has not yet subdued and renewed it after the image of the first-begotten of the Father, our Lord Jesus Christ. The heart is stony, insensible of the benefits of God, unfit to receive them and to respond to His entreaties and monitions—stony for the reception of His tender mercies. Or can you deny having walked many years in the vanity of your heart, without considering that your life, and its many blessings, are the gift of God, and that His visitation has preserved your spirit? Can you deny having many a year, many a time, in carnal self-reliance and in the pride of your imagined strength ascribed to your own ability or wisdom the unmerited mercies of God? Will you deny, that even when you were better instructed, you have been idle and reluctant to praise the Lord for His unceasing love, daily repeated with the rising of His sun? Where are the tender feelings for the all-merciful God, your gratitude to the Giver of every good and perfect gift, and your cheerful obedience to the Father of lights? It is this insensibility of the divine mercies which makes the heart stony, renders it impatient in affliction, and fills it with arrogant pride in prosperity.

But it is also stony through being unable to receive the divine exhortations. It is God's gracious purpose to draw us

to Himself by means of loving kindness and to conquer our hearts by love. Many a beam from the invisible government of His good Providence has he caused to descend on us to lighten the darkness of our hearts, many a word of His has He thrust into us with a force that filled us with fear and trembling, and many a providence so turned as to make us doubt the rightness of our past course. But did we perceive and understand forthwith this voice of our heavenly Father? Or did we avert our face from Him, and seek for diversion, when it was His purpose to admonish us through crosses and sufferings? What more common than the well-meant counsel tendered to our suffering brethren to seek diversion? Just as if the salvation of God and peace of mind could be found in diversion! See, how stony the heart is; when God kindly touches it that it may exult for joy and love Him who first loved us, it grows haughty, careless and arrogant; and when He smites it to make it observe the crooked and perverse way on which it is running to destruction, it runs away from His school and seeks for diversion, that the fatherly correction may not yield fruit. The heart of man is a stony heart! These words are true and certain.

And this heart is designed to grow good and tender, to become sensible of the benefits of God, to taste and see how good He is, to delight in Him, and to hear His voice, to note His hints and monitions, to observe and apply them, and to turn them to good account. A tender and a good heart we are to receive, one that receives the seed of the word, and is not like the stony ground in which the divine seed cannot take root, or the thorny field where the cares of this world and riches choke the good seed; but a heart of flesh is one which, though we cannot leave the world, remains true to God, is constantly on the alert, quick to perceive the leadings and directions of the divine Spirit, and thankful to receive and apply to our benefit the monitions and warnings of our God, no matter when or whence they come.

This is, however, only part of the great change wrought by the divine Spirit, for the text adds: "I will put a new spirit

within you." The spirit, dear brethren, is the efficient power in us, which directs our efforts, guides our work for the good of others and of ourselves, our plans and hopes, and indicates how our diversified talents and abilities should be applied.

More or less all men are endowed with spirit or mind; there are many persons in our time, of great wealth of mind (*geistreich*), who under the progressive development of our age have really reached a very high degree of mental culture. But what does that avail, if the *old* mind or spirit remains unchanged? for the old mind is dark, perverse and uncertain. It is dark and perverse, for it will not allow that the things which God has joined together should remain in their order and proper relations. For God has raised man above all his fellow-creatures in that He breathed into him a rational, free soul, and endowed that soul as well as the body with sundry powers and capacities tending to beautify and enhance the happiness of his life. But He has assigned to each of these capacities its own fixed order, and more especially established the supremacy of man in that as a rational and free agent, he should ever examine himself by subordination to the judgment of the divine Spirit, to learn and prove what is that good, and acceptable and perfect will of God. But we know that the efforts of men do not generally tend in this direction. The use of the understanding is to them only an exercise of their capacities, or a means to glitter before the world, seeing that they esteem more highly the praise of man than the praise of God. They are ever learning and yet never attaining the knowledge of the truth.

The great truths of our reconciliation with God through Jesus Christ our Lord, of the restoration of the divine image in us, of our future destiny, are seemingly to the great mass of our fellow-men, as far as their speech enables us to judge, as if they did not concern them at all. Has there not been a time when men did, and are there not many persons living at this time who do not hesitate frankly to declare that our relations to the things invisible are beyond the reach of scientific inquiry, outside the province of knowledge, and

only objects of faith ? and under the pretext of such imaginary faith men carelessly continued to live after their own desire, and ultimately reached the pass that they did not believe anything whatever. In this way religion was drawn into the realm of the imaginary ; it was alleged that it was the object of feeling, and under the influence of this hallucination men fell into phantastic imaginings, conjured for themselves thousands of other worlds, forgetting to seek their happiness in this world and to do their duty. Their imagination literally ran riot when they excluded from the loftiest affairs the noblest, that is, the reasoning faculties of our being. And this phantastic aberration they called divine, because it originated in their own breast, and because even honest men are frequently tempted to follow their own mind, if they have not previously been renewed by the Spirit of God. For, if I may use the expression, there are three spirits that reign in us : the spirit of selfishness, which would fain uphold its prejudices and opinions, no matter how great their delusion ; the spirit of the prince of darkness, the evil spirit of the prince of this world, who " hath blinded the eyes of them which believe not,"* addressing us through the evil example and the errors of others, and displaying them before our eyes so that they dazzle and poison us ; and lastly the good spirit, the Spirit of God, testifying His presence to every man. But seeing that all those three spirits speak to us within, men fondly imagine that they are always hearing the voice of the good spirit, because they are loth to believe that they are naturally subject to the evil spirit, and therefore they do not try the spirits whether they are from God. If this were not true, how could men have uttered so much egregious foolishness ? If it were not so, the striving after liberty and equality, after the rights of man and a higher culture, would not have brought so much grief and sorrow into the world. Dear brethren, let us pray God to grant unto us and our children

* 2 Cor. iv. 4.

a new spirit which does not part asunder the head and the heart, which God has joined together; then shall we be illumined in heavenly light, "and shall with open face, reflecting as in a mirror the glory of the Lord, be changed into the same image from glory to glory."*

And this is also a constant, a certain spirit. For the Holy Spirit taught by facts, and with facts God did connect His operations and effects. He founded His kingdom on earth, when the people of God were led out of Egypt by mighty signs and wonders; when 'mid thunder and lightning and mighty voices the law was as on this day given from heaven on Mount Sinai.

This law of the Most High is one and immutable. Heaven and earth shall pass away, but *these* words shall not pass away: "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind, and with all thy strength, and thy neighbor as thyself." These words ought to contain the fundamental constitution of all lands and of all nations. The great events at the birth of Jesus Christ, during His earthly life at His resurrection and ascension, are also so many pledges and facts of the infallible truth of the book which we regard as the record and deposit of our faith, as a light that shineth in a dark place until the day dawn and the day star arise in our hearts. Therefore let us accept this word of the divine message, and try by it all our own views, and those of others, every sermon and every book, whether they conform to it. Then He will be able to work within us after *His* spirit a new and certain spirit, "that we be not tossed to and fro, and carried about with every wind of doctrine, by the sleight of men and cunning craftiness, whereby they lie in wait to deceive;"† then we shall have a firm foundation for our faith, and a conviction which cannot be shaken, and a certain spirit then rules us all the while, causing us to acknowledge the truth everywhere,

* 2 Cor. iii. 18.

† Eph. iv. 14.

and to walk after the truth, and thus all our efforts and endeavors will also be renewed. Love as the motive force of them all begins to be operative, and is the fulfilling of the law. Then we shall have no other mind than that of doing the will of our heavenly Father, and in every relation and circumstance of life there will arise the thought that we love and serve Him who first loved us, and render those happy who are near and around us.

O dear and precious book, would that thou didst return to our homes and families! then the spirit who dwells in thee would be shed on our age, and the great change for which we yearn, be wrought in our fellow-men, even the change promised in the words of our text—there would be created in us a tender, clean and good heart, and a new and a certain spirit.

II.

But how does this change take place within us? It is well worth while that we grow familiar with what transpires in our mind, and take a view of our true condition there. It is not by any means general, this introspection, for as has been already intimated, our age is wont to dispatch religiousness into the realm of sentimentality and imagination, just as a former age had locked it up in formality, and another allowed it to perish in cold rationalism. For men are prone to avoid worshipping God in spirit and in truth, prone to delude themselves in this matter, because the vital remembrance of God places them at His bar, and therefore they seek, as it were, to slip away, But our heavenly Father wants us to worship Him that way. On that account it behooves us to study ourselves, to inquire if the great change we have endeavored to portray, has really taken place in us, if we have received His spirit to know and adore Him, as we ought. In his incomparably beautiful epistle to the Romans the Apostle St. Paul describes the different states of our spiritual nature (ch. vii. 7, 8) and their study is not only an appropriate

meditation at this pentecostal season, but fraught with blessings not only to-day but for our whole life. He distinguishes the state of total unconsciousness (vii. 7, 8), in which men resemble the brute creation, from that of conscious resistance (vv. 9-14) in which they recognize a law which prompts them to do the will of God, accompanied, however, by the speedy discovery of another law in their members at variance with the law of God, warring against the law of their mind, and bringing them into captivity to the law of sin, and constraining them severally to exclaim with the Apostle : "O wretched man that I am ! Who shall deliver me from the body of this death ?" (vv. 23, 24). He further draws a distinction between the state in which we begin to awake to true Christian consciousness by the knowledge of Jesus Christ as our Saviour, and, as it were, stretch forth the hands of our mind to serve the law of God (v. 25), and the state of those who are fully awake, and of whom he felt warranted to say : "There is therefore now no condemnation to them which are in Christ Jesus" (viii. 1) ; and it is with these that we are more especially concerned to-day in our endeavor to attain a clear conception of our own spiritual condition.

The state in which we begin to grow awake differs from the latter in this way, that the Spirit of God operates in the former on the heart in the destruction of its stony nature, while in the latter the selfsame spirit dwells in it and has already produced a good and tender heart. The first state is indispensably necessary in the work of our regeneration, but those who rest content therewith, and indulge the notion that momentary or transitory ebullitions of feeling, good intentions, and impressions of holiness will suffice, run great danger of relapsing into a state of death. No, we must advance to victory, to a full and absolutely clear state of being awakened and awake, and it is the Spirit of God who prepares us, by warnings or persuasive entreaties, for this condition.

Bald mit Lieben, bald mit Leiden,
Kamst du, Herr mein Gott zu mir,
Dir mein Herze zu bereiten,
Mich ganz zu ergeben dir;
Dass mein innerstes Verlangen,
Mög' an deinem Willen hangen.

Standing still, under the circumstances, means going back; when He speaks we must hear, when He beckons we must follow; when He causes us to learn and experience the misery and wretchedness of forsaking Him, the obstacles caused by foolish and idle talking, when He threatens us with the terrors of His law or sends us those who by kindly speech inflame our hearts, or directs some friend to strengthen and encourage us, or when He enables us to derive comfort from His blessed promises—under all these kindly leadings of His good providence, we are bound to follow Him, and not only *once*, but always. It is thus that we are ever awakened anew, that there is a sounding and a stirring, and the dead bones start into life—but woe to those who fail to respond to His monitions. Then, in order to terrify us into obedience, He has recourse to menace, and brings to our consciousness the threatenings of His Word, which are sometimes very awful and heartrending, *e. g.* : “Our God is a consuming fire;” “It is a fearful thing to fall into the hands of the living God;” “Fear Him who is able to destroy both soul and body in hell;” which depicts to us sin in its most repulsive forms, in its exceeding sinfulness, in its ravages which undermine and destroy our peace, the happiness of the family, and the prosperity of nations, and causes us occasionally to experience in our own life the misery and sorrow which overtake men for their contempt of God, and not fearing Him, or to convince us of the sinfulness of sin by filling us with loathing of all imbruting carnality, to let us feel the deadening influence of trifling, ungodly speech, and to estimate aright the perverseness of a worldly spirit in our domestic and social relations—so that we are unable any longer to doubt that sin is the ruin of men.

But, on the other hand, we should learn that it is righteousness which exalteth a people. Therefore the promises of God concerning happiness and salvation give us most friendly greeting, bidding us expect it both now and hereafter, in this world and the next, and directing us to the assurance and example of the happy estate of those who fear the Lord and walk in His ways. God is pleased to delight us with the spectacle of happy mortals, who in consequence of unfeigned piety have been blessed by Him in their temporal and spiritual affairs, in order that their conduct and example may move and incite us to imitate them. He leads to us kindly folk who by sweet, gentle and edifying words fill our heart with rapturous delight, and inflame it with the love of God; dear friends who sympathize with us, and lovingly draw us along with them to the sunny realms of the heavenly life. He causes us to experience blissful hours, which yielding to our hearts the antepast of heaven, secure them for it forever—experiences causing us to perceive and feel within ourselves the covenant of peace, which has never been abolished by God, and needs only to be set up by us in order to save us, render us happy and exalt us to the glorious liberty of the children of God.

This then, dear brethren, is God's way, the way of our heavenly Father, to drive and terrify us from the region of the shadow of death and to entice us into life. Happy are those who attend to it, and yield themselves to His gracious purposes. "Lo! there is a noise, and a shaking, and the dead bones grow alive again." But the careless and indifferent, unwilling to move forward, and satisfied to remain at a standstill where favoring circumstances have placed them, deeming this enough, and deluding themselves into the belief that they have the divine life, they, I say, will continue in death, unless they turn this very day, while they hear this voice, unless they do it now. But if they really and truly turn from their evil way, God will certainly succeed in bringing them to their senses, to a state of perfect waking, and create in them a new heart, a new and constant spirit.

This being awake, dear friends, renders us conscious that the love of God and the love of man are dominant within us. If the love of God has been shed on us through the Holy Spirit in Christ Jesus, and we have learned to know and believe how precious we are unto God, then we experience that wonderful and glorious change of mind which thenceforth makes it our supreme delight to love Him, who first loved us; then the beautiful power of love manifests its full strength, and we advance to a position in which we are able to control our desires and passions, to crush the enemy under our feet, and to exclaim triumphantly with the Apostle : "I live, yet not I, but Christ liveth in me." He is my pattern, Jesus Christ is to me the First and the Last, the Author and Finisher of my faith, His will and purpose is my will and purpose ; I seek not my honor, but the honor of my God and Saviour Jesus Christ.

It was the conviction that God loves us, and was manifested in that He sent His only-begotten Son into the world that we should live through Him, which caused the mighty increase of believers and servants of the Lord on the first day of the Christian Pentecost. And the miraculous power of that conviction is still operative and destined in our time to breathe upon the slain that they may live, and so many among us as open their hearts to the entrance of that love, so many it will render heavenly minded and operative in the service of God.

They have found the Father, who is full of tenderness and love to His children in evil days or in good. They rest in His heart, quickened and refreshed in the blissful possession of His love, and in the joyous hope of their incorruptible inheritance in heaven above, they delight in the assurance that the sufferings of this present time are not worthy to be compared with the glory which shall be revealed in us, freely confess that all things work together for their good, and join in the burst of rapture which caused St. Paul to exclaim : "If God be for us, who can be against us ? He that spared not His own Son, but delivered Him up for us all, how shall He not with Him also freely give us all things ? Who shall

lay anything to the charge of God's elect? It is God that justifieth; who is he that condemneth? It is Christ that died, yea, rather that is risen again, who is at the right hand of God, who also maketh intercession for us! Who shall separate us from the love of God? Shall tribulation, or distress, or persecution, or famine, or nakedness, or peril, or sword? Nay, in all these things we are more than conquerors through Him that loved us. For I am persuaded, that neither death, nor life, nor angels, nor principalities, nor powers, nor things present, nor things to come, nor height, nor depth, nor any other created thing, shall be able to separate us from the love of God which is in Christ Jesus our Lord." Amen.

The congregation then sang these stanzas of Luther's Hymn:

Nun bitten wir den heiligen Geist,
Und den rechten Glauben allermeist, etc.

Du werthes Licht, gieb uns deinen Schein,
Lehr uns Jesum Christum erkennen allein,
Dass wir an ihm bleiben,
Dem treuen Heiland,
Der uns bracht hat
Zu dem rechten Vaterland. Kyrie eleison.

Du süsse Lieb' schenk uns deine Gunst,
Lass uns empfinden der Liebe Brunst,
Dass wir uns von Herzen
Einander lieben
Und in Friede
Auf einem Sinne bleiben. Kyrie eleison.

II.

A PARADOX.

“When I am weak, then am I strong,”

2. Cor. xii. 10.

Considered at Matins.

O, Jesu Christ, mein schönstes Licht,
 Der du in deiner Seelen,
 So hoch uns liebst, dass man es nicht
 Aussprechen kann noch zählen:
 Ach ! dass das Herz dich wiederum
 Mit Liebe und Verlangen
 Mög' umfangen
 Und als dein Eigenthum
 Nur einzig an Dir hangen. * Amen.

THE Lord who has mercy on us, dear brethren, causes His face to shine upon us, to shine upon us all, that we get well, and yet many among us are ill, and only a small number of Christians realize the powers of the world to come, and have been strengthened and are strong in the inner man. Yes, He causes His face to shine upon us, and we feel how far we still are from health, how little light there is within us, although the splendor of the light of His countenance is shed over us, and His peace is intended to benefit us all. How is it to be accounted for, unless it be by our perverse disposition ? For we must occupy a certain position or attitude of heart in order to be able to receive the radiance of God which goes out towards us from the face of Jesus Christ, His Son.

As many of you, then, as desire the proper frame of mind in which the loving kindness of God glorifies itself and reflects in us with open face the glory of the Lord, I entreat to unite with me in prayer, that there may be revealed to us a proper insight of our nothingness and His loving heart, that we may

* These words had been the subject of a sermon the day before.

become more and more one with Him, and that He sup with us, and we with Him. *Our Father*, etc.

Text: II. Cor. xii. 10.

“Therefore I take pleasure in weaknesses, in reproaches, in necessities, in persecutions, in distresses for Christ’s sake: *for when I am weak, then am I strong.*”

Apparently these words are a paradox, contradict and nullify each other. How can he that is weak be strong? But it is nevertheless a pure and divine truth which the Apostle here presents to us, a truth based on profound experience, betokening the very frame of mind and disposition of our heart which we desire, and must possess, if the wisdom from above is to dawn in us like a clear light. We must be weak that we may be strengthened in our weakness, according to the strength of Him who is able to do exceeding abundantly above all that we ask or think. That was St. Paul’s own experience, and therefore he preferred to glory in his weakness. Notwithstanding the great advances he had made in the spiritual life, he reverted again and again to this frame of mind as leading to yet greater progress, as unfolding yet greater treasures of knowledge. “Most gladly,” he said, in the verse preceding our text, “will I rather glory in *my weakness* that the *power of Christ* may rest upon me.” The perfection, acknowledgment and sense of our own weakness is the indispensable prerequisite of our participation of the divine power, and on this account, when he had besought the Lord to deliver him from the Angel of Satan, who, in his graphic language, was smiting him with the fist, from the woe that caused him so much internal struggle and anguish, he was told: “My grace is sufficient for thee, for my strength is made perfect in weakness” (vv. 7-9). Now if this truth was the cardinal and central point of the divine life in which St. Paul stood, and, as is emphatically intimated in the text, caused him to derive therefrom more and more knowledge, how much the rather may it conduce to the growth of our knowledge of spiritual things. With this end in view we

have chosen for our present meditation the words of the Apostle :

“ When I am weak, then am I strong,”

to ascertain : 1. The grounds of this truth ; and 2. By what means we may become weak in order that the power of God may grow mighty in us.

I.

Man is a creature of God, but a free being endowed with the powers and capacities of consciousness. This double truth solves the riddle and removes the seeming contradiction of the apostolic declaration, “ When I am weak, then am I strong.”

Man is a creature of God, His handiwork, and in Him he lives and moves and has his being. Originally, therefore, his existence is derived from the will of the Most High, no less than all his powers. What have we then which we did not receive ? And how may the wants of our body and those of the soul be supplied and gratified unless the co-operating power of God cause them to turn to our profit and blessing ? The Lord from heaven is before all, and all things in Him do consist. Life and all its benefits flow from Him, and the lifting up of His countenance preserves our breath. But though this is generally allowed in respect of our outward life, it is as generally disputed concerning the inward life of the soul ; nevertheless that inward spiritual life which we are destined to lead, the striving after the perfection of our being in the Holy Spirit, though we may resist it, and by our sinfulness render the gracious purposes of God of none effect, is, for all that, the work of divine grace, and has never been begun, furthered and completed without the assistance of God. This is agreeably to reason and the teachings of the Holy Spirit. And in this sense St. Paul declares: “ Not that we are sufficient of ourselves to think anything, as of ourselves, but our sufficiency is of God.” “ For it is God which worketh in you, both to will and to do of His good pleasure.”

The reasonable reception of this well-founded truth into our hearts affords us a hint to the understanding of the seeming paradox : "When I am weak, then am I strong." For it is an unreasonable delusion to think that our strength is independent and our own. Whence does it come if not from God ? Those who refuse to believe that God must work in us every good thought and honest resolution, cannot, of course, understand the meaning of the Apostle when he says : "When I am weak, then am I strong." But those who consider that God must work in us faith and the divine life after the working of His omnipotence, and remember that without His help we cannot do anything, but with it everything, are already in a position, from one side at least, to comprehend the sense of the great truth of our text.

But again, man, with all his powers, is not only a creature of God, but also a *free and rational creature*, according to his endowments. He is able to become conscious of his Creator, of his relations to his fellow men and to the laws, which, in this respect, and for the ends of his existence in general, are founded in the universe. He is equally capable of becoming conscious of his ability to regulate his conduct according to these laws or relations, or to act in opposition to them ; of becoming conscious of his liberty, or the power, upon due reflection and deliberation, to choose one course or another, to yield himself to the operations of the Divine Spirit, or to counteract them, to follow or resist them.

Since his present condition is one of corruption, man is wont, in the misapplication of the powers accorded to him, frequently to prevent the influence of the Divine Spirit, both through restlessness and wilfulness. Restlessness or disquiet, easily produced from without or from within, renders us unable consciously to receive light and power from above. When under the influence of peculiar circumstances or relations, the mind is perturbed and thrust into violent commotion, it resembles the stormy sea, in which the sky and the stars cannot be reflected, and in like manner we are unable in such a conflict of emotions to receive the image of

God. The maddened powers within, the wild freaks of the imagination, contending ebullitions of feeling and tumultuous passions raging within him do not obey him, but carry him along with them.

Though endowed with liberty or free will, yet having, in a state of disquiet, formed some purpose, we are prone to fall into wilfulness, and wilfully to oppose the will of God with all our strength; through outward entanglements or inward confusion, when bound in the fetters of pernicious prejudice, and under the influence of false views, we pursue crooked ways and do many things that are unprofitable. Wilfulness and self-reliance disturb the operations of the Holy Spirit, not only in respect of the immoderate pursuit of secular and sinful aims and enjoyments, but also in respect of the general purpose of amendment; and this explains the phenomenon that even those who desire the better part are frequently checked in their progress through self-will, and through the self-complacent direction of the powers accorded to them, to remain estranged from God, to grow perturbed and confused in their ideas, and under the delusion of doing good in accomplishing one thing or another, removing one or restoring another, virtually work against the purpose of God, and instead of drawing nearer to the divine life, drift more hopelessly away from it.

Whoever contemplates himself in this mirror will perceive how when he is strong, or exerts his powers in a wrong way, and strives to work according to the dictates of his own will, he may do unspeakable mischief; for the main thing is not to work with power and to exert the power of which we are conscious, nor is it the measure of our strength of will, but it is its judicious direction, conformably to the divine will, to accomplish His gracious purpose. It is only when we surrender our self-will and self-work, and, looking up to God, calmly allow Him to influence us, convinced that of ourselves we have not and cannot do anything, and must receive everything from His free grace, that we behold the glory of the Lord with unveiled face, and are glorified into the same light.

On this account, dear brethren, it behooves us to grow weak in ourselves that the power of God may the more mightily work in us, for “when I am weak, then am I strong.”

2.

If, then, we deem it desirable to maintain that frame of mind and disposition of heart which render us capable of receiving the divine and sanctifying influence, the question comes up how and by what means we may reach the position of becoming weak in order that the power of God may work in us mightily? And we answer that it comes to pass in this way: becoming more and more conscious of our own nothingness, seeking to grow more familiar with our sinful corruption, and endeavoring to check all distraction, we open our hearts to the love of God in order to be influenced, penetrated and melted by it.

For this purpose let us search and investigate our hidden blemishes, uncover the depths of sin, the secret lurking-places of our hearts alienated from God and so utterly perverted, that we may know the depth of our fall and the inveterateness of our pollution. When our dear Lord trod this earth of ours he sought sinners, for it is not the whole, but the sick that need a physician. But we must be animated through and through by the sense of our sinfulness before we can hear the voice of the Good Shepherd; that gladly and without a will of our own, convinced of our inability, we suffer Him to take us in His arms and carry us on His shoulders. And towards this knowledge of ourselves, this familiarity with our true state, everything may minister in turn, our temptations, our stumblings and lapses, and all our trials.

Our temptations, especially by tracing them to their deep sources, remembering that the proper information concerning our true nature flows not so much from our outward actions, as from the secret and hidden springs of motive of which they are only the expressions. These temptations in their curious, foolish, envenomed and variegated character disclose to us more and more the intensity of our natural

depravity and corruption, our inability to work good in virtue of our own strength, and of our entire dependence on the help and support of our heavenly Father. It is then, that with greater willingness, more intense longing, more profound gratitude, we yield ourselves to the Father, whose gracious purpose it is to cleanse us in His Son from all unrighteousness ; it is then that we cleave to the Son with greater fidelity, as unto one that is able to save to the uttermost, any and all desiring to come to God through Him, it is then that we receive with greater joyfulness the spirit of grace and of prayer, gladdened by the bright beams of divine love, and convinced of the desperate and inveterate wickedness of our heart, attain to the beatific assurance that our safety and salvation depend not on our willing or running, but on the mercy of God.

Our stumblings and lapses also may serve to promote our self-knowledge ; they will uncover the weakest points, the most vulnerable spots of our hearts, and disclose the dangers to which we are exposed. Our stumbling will perforce impress us with a sense of weakness in perceiving that though aroused and awakened by the Spirit of God, though, as it were, miraculously changed in the bent and disposition of our will, which instead of seeking its own, turns God-ward, longs for the attainment of the highest felicity, desires to run with alacrity and joy in the way of the divine commandments, and the paths of peace—in perceiving that in spite of all this there comes over us a certain lassitude and apathy which interferes with the proper and energetic use of our powers, and causes us to yield to momentary ebullitions of feeling, or to the seductive influence of plausible counter-representation. And lastly, dear brethren, the trials, afflictions and calamities to which we are subjected may serve to promote our humility. This we may perceive from the degree to which they are able to touch us, the depth to which they reach, and the extent of the decisive, and frequently perverted influence they exert both on the frame of our mind and our outward behavior. In this way we become gradually convinced of our weakness, and learn more and more of the poor avail of

our own power in bearing our burden and casting away the sin which doth so easily beset us.

Let not pride prevent us from thus looking at ourselves, for we are prone to look at ourselves in the best light, and this inclination, this indulging of our self-love does not wholly leave us, even after the principal and capital change of our heart has already set in. Men fondly cherish the feeling of seeing themselves arrayed in loveliness, and of taking delight in the contemplation of their virtues ; they are prone to eye a certain degree of excellence *they intend* to acquire, rather than divine grace compassionating them in their natural misery, and the blessing of which they would enjoy, though its fruit in quality or quantity may not come up to their expectations. For we do not desire to be that which under the circumstances we may be after the will of God, but we covet accomplishments to gratify our vanity and self-complacency. Hence we find many that complain of themselves and their condition; they complain, not because they abhor sin, but because they grieve, and are disappointed in appearing so meanly in their own eyes. It is pride which causes them to despair of themselves, if they are unable to present themselves in their coveted excellence. But this grieving is very different from the godly sorrow which worketh repentance to salvation not to be repented of; for this latter calmly, meekly, patiently and resignedly endures the sight of sinfulness, convinced that where the work of God has begun to operate, it will gradually gain the ascendancy, occupy more room, forbidding sin to reign in us, and plainly showing us whence we are fallen, and how much we are stained and polluted by sin. But the former is impatient because the plant of righteousness is not immediately blooming in the perfection of its beauty, and exhibiting the riches of its fruitage. Let us beware of that frame of mind; let us keep the seed of the divine in a good and honest heart, and bring forth fruit with *patience*. Our Lord, when He trod this earth of ours, came to seek *sinners*, and He will seek us also, if we feel that we labor and are heavy laden. Therefore let us re-

member what weak vessels we are, how ready to break, and how much we resemble a bruised reed, and smoking flax (*i. e.*, a glowing wick ready to go out)! Then we shall humble ourselves, and our soul will recover health when with opened eyes we behold the filth that pollutes us, do not deceive ourselves as to our hurt, and become familiar with our depravity and our natural nothingness.

Moreover, it behooves us to *shun distraction* as much as possible, for that is the root of the evil. If we fail to seek retirement, to commune with our own heart and to collect our hidden powers, we are not able to use them at all. Allow your thoughts to range abroad where they may list, fly from one thing to another, and you are like a reed shaken with wind. But as we are destined to be plants to the praise of the Lord, firmly rooted trees of righteousness, we must, in order to recover our health, check distraction and diversion, shun it as much as we may, and erect a dam against it within. This is indispensable to the obtaining of that sense of weakness in which we grow strong, observe, mark, receive and apply to our salvation the drawings of divine grace. Preaching is plainly inadequate to meet the requirements of the case, if distraction is not checked; for were it adequate, the many thousand sermons preached to so great a multitude of hearers ought to produce a far greater and more efficacious influence of the Spirit of God on their hearts and lives. It is while men are distracted that the enemy cometh and taketh away the word out of their hearts, lest they should believe and be saved—and in time of temptation, through the distractions of cares and riches and pleasures of this life, they fall away and bring no fruit to perfection.

Therefore, keep thy foot when thou goest to the house of God, and be more ready to hear than to give the sacrifice of fools, and keep thy heart with all diligence, for out of it are the issues of life. Neither the word of the divine revelation, nor the experience of life will be profitable and conduce to our melioration if we are distracted in mind. If then we are seriously desirous to know how matters stand within us,

how poor we are and how dependent on God, to cultivate a sense of reasonable dissatisfaction with ourselves and maintain a consciousness of weakness, we should be peculiarly on our guard to drive away everything from without that may hurt us and disturb our quietness. I say everything that may be misused or perverted in that direction, not excepting even strong pious emotions, for they also may lead astray. For just try and examine yourselves, dear brethren, after you have wept in seeming grief, if you know why and for what purpose your tears did flow? Under the influence of such vehement and tumultuous emotion, all orderly thought is apt to vanish, and from the first good thought that touched you and caused you to be so profoundly moved, you yielded to the influence of the excitement which made you deaf to all further attention, and if you did not hear any more, you did not think any more, and if you did not think any more, you did not understand and comprehend, and if you did not comprehend you cannot possess anything or derive any blessing from it. Oh, that Christians would consider that the life of the Spirit must be received in full consciousness, and that every distraction must be checked and avoided, of whatever kind it be. Where that is done, the sense of weakness is sure to manifest itself, we look deliberately and consciously around and weigh the proportion of our strength to meet the important requirements which here or there are expected of us. Therefore, dear friends, seeing that we are naturally inclined to be distracted and possessed by currents of thought and feeling, by fanciful illusions and delusions, driven from one fantastic vision to another, and cast from one frame of mind into another without knowing why or how it all comes to pass, let us take care and beware lest by such violent alternations of tumultuous excitement we cease to be human beings. For in such a state of chaotic distraction, which carries us headlong hither and thither, our mind *may* be here or there, but we are not conscious of it; not personally conscious, and it is only personal consciousness that makes us truly men. The tension, moreover, of this spiritual excitement is

inevitably followed by a reaction and relaxation, and the more we imagine that in virtue of such mental excitement, of such an upheaval and depression of mind, to have attained some extraordinary degree of excellence, the more egregiously do we deceive ourselves, and stray away from the end of our heavenly calling. Let us then earnestly and honestly strive to avoid every kind of distraction, outward distraction by the careful regulation of our outward rule of life, and inward distraction, by the vigilant observation of what transpires within; by regulating our feelings, by endeavoring to concentrate our thoughts on Christ, and we shall feel our weakness, and be able to grow strong in the same.

Finally, dear brethren, let us yield ourselves to the love of God, our Heavenly Father, as it is shed over us all through Christ Jesus our Lord, that, thoroughly humbled, we may appear unto ourselves small and weak that the power of God may all the more mightily dwell in us. For there are in our nature depths that can hardly be fathomed, and hardnesses that can only be melted by that sacred fire. It is on this account that we must yield ourselves to the influence of the love of God in Christ, would we grow weak, for as it is the nature of love to yield itself to its object, to surrender self and to belong wholly to the beloved, so ought our heart to aspire after most intimate union with God, to surrender and present itself as an offering to our dear Father, to suspend all self-seeking and self-working until His Power operates in us, then both what we will and do is sure to succeed, to our joy and felicity in the omnipotent power of love, according to the good pleasure of His will. And this love we shall know by attending to the proofs of the same which everywhere surround us, and by considering that we are not worthy of the least of all the mercies, and of all the truth which He is showing unto us. Once in the way of this direction, the perceptive power of our eyes will grow more intense, and enable us to discover the traces of His kindness and the blessings of His love, and to become more receptive of its vitalizing beams. And as we contemplate the great work of Redemption, and seek to pene-

trate the Love which bore our sins on the tree, and remitted them to us, and has called us to its peace and blessedness, the heart that is hard begins to melt, that which was dead is quickened, and the motions of tender and sweetest yearning draw from the depths of our soul this prayer of a godly poet :

Zeuch mich ganz in Dich,
Dass vor Liebe ich
Ganz zerinne und zerschmelze,
Und auf Dich mein Elend wälze,
Das stets drücket mich !
Zeuch mich ganz in Dich.

Let this be also our prayer and the daily sighing of our heart : "Grant that Thy Love alone dwell in my soul." And in order to nourish and feed this sacred flame, let us read and meditate on the words of divine revelation, or the glorious hymns of our Hymn Book, in which the love of Jesus is so touchingly portrayed, to edify our hearts, and to lay us under increasing obligations of fidelity. If this love begins to glow within us, the heat thereof is sure to melt the hardest hardness and subdue the proudest mind, and we shall recover our health and grow strong in the inner man.

Gracious Father, who desirest us to become sharers of thy salvation and felicity, thou knowest how many of thy children, through self-will and self-work, miss the mark which thou hast set them. May thy Good Spirit preserve us from such a lot, and may thy grace make us weak in order that we may grow strong. May it please thee to uncover our secret faults, to bless us with quietness, to collect our wandering and scattered thoughts, that we may know thee and see thee in the love with which thou hast regard unto thy servants, carriest the sick and the weak in thine arms, and givest power to the weary and strength sufficient unto the weak. O Lord Jesus Christ, grant that with all our sorrow and misery we may fall into thine embrace, and in thy bosom find rest unto our souls.

There is no other rest anywhere but in thee, we therefore

pray thee let the fire of thy love melt us into a living sacrifice,
holy and acceptable unto God!

Also wird es noch geschehen,
Dass der Herr uns wird ansehen,
Und wir werden noch auf Erden,
Gottes Liebesopfer werden.

III.

FIDELITY IN THE LEAST.

St. Luke, xvi. 10-13.

Preached in 1832.

“ALTHOUGH the Christian religion is founded on knowledge and the conviction that ‘God is Love,’ not a few of our theologians and writers on ethics are in the habit of representing our duty to God and to our neighbor as if duty and love were not essentially identical. For the declaration of Holy Scripture, that all the commandments are comprehended in that of the love of God and of our neighbor, imports that the practice of love is enjoined as a duty. But this love could not have been enjoined as a commandment or a duty, if it were only an appetite or passion, and therefore this commandment of love simply implies that every man is endowed with the faculty of admitting or repelling the affection of this love, which is freely offered to him, and freely solicits him. Moreover the identity of duty and love is indicated by the circumstance that both denote a connection. For the word duty (*Pflicht=debitum*) or obligation is derived from being bound or connected (*verpflichtet, verbunden*) and the sole difference between them is, that duty (obligation, *i. e.* the law) as a pervading power only incites connection, while love, as a

fulfilling and indwelling power attracts ; hence love delivers us from the pressure of the law, just as the entrance of air into a body void of air delivers it from the pressure of the air. The connection which in duty is one-sided and enforced becomes reciprocal and free in love.”

FR. BAADER.

As many of us, gracious Father, as are here assembled in thy presence, while we continue here, are stewards of the manifold gifts which thou hast committed to our keeping, and it is expected of a steward that he should be found faithful. Oh that we might be faithful in that which is entrusted to us ! Thou art faithful, O God ; thou art faithful and true, and without iniquity; just and right art thou ; and it is wrong to turn away from thee and not to requite thy faithfulness with faithfulness in return ; they that act thus crookedly are blots, and not thy children. But our trust is in thee, O Lord, and we would fain be faithful to thee ; for such as be faithful in love shall abide with thee. Amen.

St. Luke xvi. 10-13.

“ He that is faithful in that which is least, is faithful also in much ; and he that is unjust in the least is unjust also in much. If therefore ye have not been faithful in the unrighteous mammon, who will commit unto you the true riches ? and if ye have not been faithful in that which is another man’s, who shall give you that which is your own ? No servant can serve two masters ; for either he will hate the one and love the other ; or else he will hold to the one, and despise the other. Ye cannot serve God and mammon.”

We have here a condition of our salvation which cannot be gainsaid, for we have it from the Lord’s self-own lips. What He requires is faithfulness, fidelity in the least, if He is to set us over much, fidelity now that we may be able to be received into everlasting habitations. “ Be thou faithful unto death, and I will give thee the crown of life,” said the First and the Last unto His Church. This word concerning fidelity is addressed in the first instance to those on whom He lifts up

the light of His countenance, upon whom the gracious and merciful Lord casts the bright beams of His lovingkindness, in whose heart He has already kindled a spark of His love, to whom He has given a pound to trade withal for spiritual ends ; *they* are to be faithful and persevere to the end that they may be saved. But it bears also on others, it applies to every one, this word concerning fidelity, and especially concerning fidelity in that which is least ; for there is none among us destitute of the ability or opportunity to do good, and none may say : I have had little intrusted to me, and therefore I am not responsible ; for though much is expected of him to whom much is committed, yet the servant who received less, to whom only one talent was given, had to render account of his stewardship.

We have to deal with “Fidelity in the Least,” and propose to inquire :

1. What are we to understand by it ?
2. Why is this fidelity so necessary ?
3. How may it be acquired ?

I.

What is fidelity, and fidelity in the least ? Fidelity is holding fast and standing, persevering in love. When out of heaven, down from the Father of Light, love with its sacred beams lights hither and thither to kindle a spark in the hearts of men, fidelity denotes the stirring and keeping, the tending of the sacred flame of grateful return-love in our breast, the standing in the love wherewith He has loved us. Withdrawning from the noise and the distractions which assail us within and without, and threaten to make us lose out of sight the glorious prize of our celestial vocation, to the stillness of retirement, we collect our thoughts that we may receive the blessings of the love of God and muse upon what is right and well-pleasing before God and our Father—we shall collect ourselves, if we are faithful. And having thus collected ourselves and learnt His gracious will to us-ward that believe,

both within and around us, fidelity will go forth to meet Him, requite His love with return-love, and strive to think and act carefully and conscientiously according to our knowledge of the truth. In word and deed, in thought and aim, even in the most secret motions of his heart, a faithful man will approve himself pure and unblamable, and readily and cheerfully aspire to self-denial to accomplish the gracious purposes of his Heavenly Father; yea, in the conflict with obstacles and difficulties, if they arise, the faithful man will strain every nerve, and in spite of suffering and adversity, in dishonor and persecution, persevere unto the end in love.

It is this fidelity which Jesus commends to us in the text, *even in the least*. He was then speaking of the proper use of earthly goods, and bade the rich Pharisees do good and gather riches for the future. Earthly goods He called *another's*, for they are only lent, and *the unrighteous mammon*, because of their unequal distribution, in consequence of sin having disturbed the relations of the world. Yea, He would say, though a man's possessions have not been acquired by dishonest means, yet he is bound to trade therewith as a faithful steward; for God, in allowing the present state of the world to continue, set the poor by the side of the rich, that in the mutual exchange of temporal and spiritual gifts they might lovingly aid one another, and that the rich through the communication of their abundance might make friends with the unrighteous mammon, and through the blessings of love be exalted to everlasting habitations.

Nor does this hold good of riches only; it bears alike on every temporal good and relation, all of which should be duly estimated, carefully and conscientiously used for our own benefit and that of others, and most faithfully husbanded in the least. No matter how little and insignificant appear our professional duties, domestic affairs, or business concerns, let them be trifling or seem even contemptible, and our office so small and unimportant that it may seem almost exaggeration to describe it by that term, yet the precept of fidelity applies to all. It imports that we be faithful to God in the careful

and conscientious discharge of our work, for His sake, and not with eye-service as men-pleasers, in things great and small, even the very least. "Whatsoever ye do in word or deed," exclaims the Apostle, "whether ye eat or drink, or whatsoever ye do, do all to the glory of God," "do all in the name of the Lord Jesus,"* in the spirit and mind in which He would have done it in your place. In this case the secondary ceases to be secondary and rises to the first importance; the least is not so little but that it must be watched, observed, conscientiously regarded, and faithfully used; here your acquaintance and your privacy, your recreation and your work, your speech and your silence, what you do or omit to do, will have to pass muster and be judged by the will and law of your God,† that it may please Him, benefit your neighbor, and promote your happiness; and here comes in that saying, that things may be lawful to you but not profitable, and you may do much, but it will be unprofitable unless you do it heartily. So, this is fidelity in the least.

II.

Why is this fidelity so necessary?

The time of our earthly pilgrimage, and everything that belongs to it, is a time of *probation*, this is the primary reason of the great necessity of faithfulness. It is all of God's own guiding, conforms to His gracious plan of educating us, and designed, according to His paternal counsel, to be a school and discipline for our improvement and ultimate success. From the first moment of our consciousness until we lay the pilgrim-staff aside, wherever we be, and whatever we meet, He has foreseen it all, provided and ordered it to our sanctification through the exhibition of faithfulness. The final decision will not depend upon *what* we have done, but upon *how* we have done it; "Whosoever shall give to drink unto one of the least a cup of cold water only in the name of a

* Col. iii. 17-23; 1 Cor. x. 31.

† Cf. Reinhardt, *Ueber den Werth der Kleinigkeiten*, etc.

disciple, verily he shall in no wise lose his reward."* And even as in the education of our children little and insignificant circumstances and occurrences afford us a sure measure of their heart and mind, so in like manner the judge of the quick and dead will observe a similar rule and standard of judgment: "He that is faithful in that which is least, is faithful also in much; and he that is unjust in the least, is unjust also in much."

It is, moreover, characteristic of love to be charmed and delighted by taking note of little and seemingly trifling things, and to proclaim itself not only by great sacrifices, but also by tender carefulness in the least. It will manifest itself by fidelity, if, for instance, in the narrow circle of our home we try to make trifling circumstances profitable to our fellow-men, to develop the least into the great, and as to ourselves, give heed to place every step we take, and every word we utter, under the guardian care and inspection of the good Spirit who moves the hearts of the children of God. Whoever you are, young or old, husband or wife, and whatever your station, high or low, whether little is committed to you or much, if you are faithful, you will have praise of God in that day which will bring to light the hidden things of darkness, and will make manifest the counsels of the heart.

Again, the least, the most trifling and insignificant, is part of the great and whole. Every day is linked in the chain of your life, and not an hour of it may be wasted without some loss to you of what was intended for your good. Every providence, likewise, that befalls you, is a drawing nigh of the Father's heart to your own, a look of His eye into yours, beckoning you, a pressure of your hand by His, bidding you draw nearer to Him, enter into friendship with Him and make your calling and election sure. Where is the situation and where the relation that is not connected with the supreme end of our existence, and that cannot be utilized for it? Can you name anything in the experience and the incidents of

* Matth. x. 42.

your daily life unsuited to God's plan of educating us, or no calculated to promote His purpose with us? Reflect on all the events marking the whole course of your life from tender infancy through all the years of your development, from the cradle in which you were rocked to the altar before which you ratified your vows, from the happy unconcern of childhood, free from sorrow and from care, to the anxieties of your riper years; reflect on them and you will be constrained to own that they are wonderfully and intimately interlinked and interwoven; a single circumstance, even the least, had it taken another turn, might have entirely changed your course of life! But His eyes were open over all your ways, and He saw you, yet being imperfect, and in His book all your days were written which were to come with all their events;* but He nevertheless has placed your destiny into your own hands. It is then abundantly clear that there is absolutely nothing which you might deem to be immaterial, or not fraught with important results; everything affects you inevitably for good or for evil—and this proves the necessity of faithfulness in the great and in the least—and in the least that we may gain the great.

And it is necessary, in the last place, because it is an exercise preparatory for eternity. If ye have not been faithful in that which is another man's (German: a stranger's possession), ye that are strangers on earth, who will give you that which is your own?

The elementary parts of school instruction, the beginnings of art or of a trade, are apt to be little thought of in later years; but he that has not mastered them is hindered in the progress, and having failed to lay a good foundation, he will remain forever a bungler in his calling. The exercise of power and its development are starting points and props of fitness and usefulness all through life. The same holds good with respect to the affairs of our immortal spirit. The earthly house of this tabernacle will crumble into dust, our temporal

* Ps. cxxxix., 16 based on Luther's version.

relations will be dissolved, and they will ask for us in vain hereafter where once we stood ; but the power exercised and developed in our temporal relations, the mind set and fixed on God, seriousness, strength of purpose, honesty under all circumstances, sincerity, pureness, heeding the voice of conscience, and the warnings and exhortations of the Word of God, the truth and righteousness acquired and maintained in the good fight, divine zeal in the pursuit of good developed and exhibited under the essentially low and oppressive work of our daily life and the sacred flame which animates and impels us to action—all these, dear brethren, have become our own ; they are and constitute the true riches which abide, and accompany us to the better, the perfect world. “ He that hath been faithful over a few things shall be made ruler over many things, and enter into the joy of his lord.”* Oh that it might be your studious and urgent endeavor to be most careful and conscientious in the things that are of the earth, earthly, that you may be found worthy to be promoted to a higher order of things, and entrusted with the eternal, because you did approve yourself on earth a good steward of the manifold grace of God.

III.

How may it be acquired ? How is it possible to be faithful ?

If fidelity is holding fast and abiding in love, let love be practised. Love is of God, and God is Love ; love, therefore, will raise you above appearance, and you will seek and find in it the life and the truth. But it must be the love of which the Lord says : “ Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind, and thy neighbor as thyself.” You cannot acquire or appropriate it by your own effort ; for He is come to kindle this sacred fire on earth. He delights to excite and waken love, and to

* Matth. xxv.

kindle even in you the divine spark of love, and along with it freely to give you all things. The cross is set up aloft that from it there may flow a never-failing fountain of love to all that believe in the doctrine and word of reconciliation. The sacred river of that love sweeps along, you also have been baptized in it, and often made to feel the love, wherewith God has loved us.

Cherish this love and practise it ; this is your work and you are required to do it. The flame of the love of God is destined to burn pure and undivided in your heart, that you may be found faithful. "No man can serve two masters ; for either he will hate the one and love the other ; or else he will hold to the one, and despise the other. Ye cannot serve God and mammon ;" you cannot at the same time serve the world and God, or selfishness and love. Take heed then, and watch, lest the sacred flame be damped and choked through distraction or the filth and pollution of sin. "If any man love the world, the love of the Father is not in him." Separate and decide* within yourself that you may know whether you are serving God or not serving Him ; do not in idle pampering of the flesh confound what God is doing with what you might and ought to do ; do not say : "The Lord will grant me fidelity, for I have asked Him in prayer ;" for lo ! it is He that is standing at the door of your heart, entreating *you* to be faithful, because unless you watch and strive, He cannot *make* you faithful any more than the slothful servant in the parable,† lest like him, you be cast into outer darkness, where is weeping and wailing and gnashing of teeth, the place reserved for recompense unto hypocrites, unto such who for a pretence make long prayers, to move Him to pity, as if He were a hard man exacting impossible things—but who nevertheless refuse to be faithful, and to do what and as He bids them—which they are fully *able* and *ought* to do.

Yea, practise love that it root itself in faithfulness. The

* German : *Scheide und entscheide.*

† Matth. xxv.

outgoings of the love of God are never ceasing to give you all things that pertain unto life and godliness. Oh! that you would heed it, and keep it, and flee from the transitory lust of the world; that you would guard your immortal soul, and never forget what He has done for you ; that through apathy and idleness you would never obey men more than God, and that in the power of love you would burst and fling aside the shameful fetters of sin, act like a man, and courageously *do* the work and will of God.

Loving and beloved you will grow nearer and dearer to Him, become one with Him in spirit, and rejoice in the experience that the faithful and merciful Lord has thoughts of peace to you-ward ; it will be your joy to live near to Him, and raised in that sweet communion, as it were, to heaven above, you will from that higher plane of observation look on the earth and earthly affairs and see them in their true light ; you will realize that the earth and honor with men cannot suffice to satisfy the wants of your soul ; and rising superior to the world, and true to Him that calleth you and is faithful, you also will be faithful in all your ways. “For the mountains shall depart, and the hills be removed ; but my kindness shall not depart from thee, neither shall the covenant of my peace be removed, saith the Lord that hath mercy on thee.”* Amen.

APPENDIX B.

NOTICE OF SCHÖNHERR, EXTRACTS FROM HIS WRITINGS AND THE WORKS OF OTHERS.

JOHANN HEINRICH SCHÖNHERR, A SUMMARY OF HIS LIFE AND VIEWS.

HE was born November 30, 1770, at Memel. His father was a non-commissioned officer in an infantry regiment, and universally esteemed ; his name was originally Schönhagen, but being a very handsome man, the Austrians, among whom he spent some time as a prisoner of war, called him Schönherr (*i. e.*, handsome man, or gentleman) ; the alteration pleased him so much that he retained it, and it became the family name. His wife, Heinrich's mother, was a native of Angerburg, where they went to live afterwards. Heinrich, in his fifteenth year, was apprenticed with a merchant at Königsberg, but being addicted to books, left his employer, and managed to acquire the necessary modicum of attainments to enter the university ; his original design to study theology he soon abandoned, and chose in its place philosophy under Kant. After six months' connection with the university at Königsberg he left it in the autumn of 1792 ; but during that stay he had already (in his twenty-second year) commenced independent researches, and discovered, on his excursions in the neighborhood, the first traces of the truth which he taught afterwards, when after about two years'

travels, on which he went to other universities, and six years' occupation as a private tutor, he returned to Königsberg. His views he communicated, on a journey through Germany in 1817, to a number of professors in different universities; but they did not commend themselves to their judgment. In 1823, he visited his brother at St. Petersburg, and in 1824 he was at Berlin. During the last years of his life he made mechanical experiments, which were entirely unsuccessful. In consequence of an old pulmonary complaint he died at Spittelhof, belonging to Juditten, near Königsberg, in the church-yard of which place he was buried. He died October 15, 1826.

He was a handsome man, of tall stature. He wore, on grounds of health, his hair long, and a beard descending to his chest; this was very becoming to him and in perfect accord with the dignity of his carriage, his expressive face, and his noble stature.

Though he never held an office, he was a man of active habits, and search for the truth his dominant thought by day and night; under its influence the claims of nature were neglected, he would forget his meals, and many a night he spent waking. The whole man, in appearance, in his habits, and chiefly in his views, was diametrically opposed to the prevailing spirit of the times. He was like an ancient seer, who had returned to a world that knew him not, neither could understand him. Intellectually he was a giant, and his power of will was prodigious; convinced that his philosophical and religious views were true, he could endure anything rather than opposition or contradiction. There lay his weakness. In disputations his dialectical skill was undisputed, and he usually came off victor. Naturally fiery, earnest and impassioned, and gifted with great eloquence, the impress of sincerity and conviction stamped upon his every word, few could resist the influence of his great power. Solemn, devout, impassioned flowed the stream of his eloquence, stirring the hearts, moving the passions and convincing the understanding of his hearers.

Starting in doubts as to the destiny of man, and the immortality of the soul, and seeking by his own researches to solve those questions, and to harmonize revelation with nature and reason, he published the results of his inquiries in two pamphlets (*Sieg der göttlichen Offenbarung*, Victory of the Divine Revelation, Königsberg, 1804), and gathered round himself a circle of friends who twice a week had meetings to which strangers were freely admitted. In 1809 these meetings were interfered with on the part of the police, but allowed to take place by express order of the king.

The essential difference between Schönherr's philosophy and that of other systems is its relative dualism, as the cause and foundation of original existence, and proceeds on the hypothesis of two original Beings, endowed with the properties of simplicity and spirituality, viz.: Primal Light (*Primal Fire*) and Primal Darkness (*Primal Water*), the former being pre-eminent as to dominion, the Lord God among the Primal Beings (Elohim), the Creator, Preserver and Governor of the world.

Schönherr was not a modern gnostic; the dualism cognized by him in nature and in revelation is entirely free from the errors of the ancient gnostics, and not by any means coincident with Schelling's doctrine of the potencies. He never framed a system, separate, concise and distinct. And there is perhaps no teacher in modern times who has been more flagrantly caricatured and misrepresented than Schönherr; and it would be well nigh incredible that slander could invent what it did invent and cause to be believed, if it were not unfortunately matter of history. Of the nature of those slanderous inventions it is unnecessary to speak here, for that were to give further currency to it; and if anything is clear as noon-day it is the undoubted and well-established purity of Schönherr and his teaching.

In the language of a noble Christian lady of uncommon intellectual strength, and as to every Christian virtue a very saint upon earth, gifted with graces and endowments rarely encountered in one person, Schönherr's doctrine is distin-

guished in its being founded upon the Scriptures and in perfect accord with their teachings from all other human systems, which, in presence of the great system of the world evolving or involving itself into being, as it were anticipate its original completion, by accomplishing a ready-made world, in order to have done with their own narrow ends, leaving it to others to perform a similar play in its place. Such systems, destitute of vital connection with the centre of life, are mostly short-lived, rudely shaken or hopelessly rent by the onsets of younger ones, which, though not strong enough to give them the *coup de grace*, place them among the ruins where the funeral of their own existence, decaying amid truth and error, is destined to be performed. . . . Schönherr was unable to frame a system based on human laws ; truth cannot be systematized ; it is the tuning-fork of the world and the law of its motion, it regulates life and causes it to articulate in proper forms, influences the individual and stamps its laws on his consciousness and nature. Schönherr, in order to show that he was not a systematizer or a sort of second-hand creator arrogating to himself the honor due to God, called the results of his researches the knowledge (cognition) of the truth, and not his system." (*Die Liebe zur Wahrheit*, p. xvii.)

The extracts which follow are drawn in part from his own writings, and from those of others, especially from those of Ebel, Diestel and Countess Ida von der Gröben ; from the nature of the case they are only fragmentary, but they will, it is believed, serve to show how Schönherr spoke, and how he thought and reasoned. As to the quality of his thoughts, however much the reader may differ with him in other respects, there is no room for difference, and many of his positions and conclusions are entitled to careful examination, and he will find that they contain much that is highly suggestive, if not positively new to him. Indeed, the circumstance that the writings of Schönherr are out of print, and those of the other authors only rarely met with, seemed to impose the necessity of furnishing extracts rather than references, which without access to the books, would be of no use.

SOME DETAILS RELATING TO THE TEACHING OF SCHÖNHERR.

The fundamental principle is the reception of the Bible as God-inspired, without any weakening or neutralizing modification whatsoever. Its inspiration is plenary ; it is through and through the Word of God, the Revelation of Truth, the declaration of His Will. The philosophy of the Bible is the only true philosophy. The Bible is the source of all true knowledge concerning God, the Creation, Providence, and Redemption. In this respect we have only one alternative : either *deny* that the Bible is the revelation of God in its entirety, and turn rationalist, skeptic, atheist, pantheist or infidel ; or *admit* that it is through and through the Word of God, and according to the testimony of Christ and His Apostles "given by inspiration of God, profitable for *doctrine*, for reproof, for correction, for discipline in righteousness, that the man of God may be perfect, throughly furnished unto all good works."* This admission, and believing reception of the Holy Scriptures involves these consequences :

1. The unconditional acceptance and belief of the strictly literal and grammatical sense of its declarations, unless their spiritual or figurative import is evident, as, *e. g.*, in the parables ;
2. Their interpretation by themselves, and the general analogy of the Scriptures ;
3. The exclusion of any and every theory which imputes to the inspired writers a system of accommodation, or arbitrarily restricts their statements to temporary or local circumstances ;
4. Suspense of judgment in things incomprehensible (for all men are not equally gifted, and things still hidden may be revealed) ; the utmost care not to reject as untrue, or unworthy of God, scriptural statements in seeming conflict with our present state of culture ; for the end is, by searching the

* 2 Tim. iii. 16, 17.

Scriptures and drawing from their pure fountain, to attain the knowledge of the truth.*

The inquiries, the momentous questions Schönherr sought to answer by an appeal to Holy Scripture, are summarily expressed in the following stanza :

Hier bin ich ! rief der Mensch—und ward in Gottes Hand ;
Wie bin ich ?—frug er schon, als kaum er fertig stand ;
Wo bin ich ?—staunt er an die Welt um sich im Glanze.
Wozu bin ich ?—Wozu ist um mich dieses Ganze ?

I am—*how* am I made ? *Where* am I ? What am I made for ? What *is* the world, and what is it for ? These, and questions of similar import, set Schönherr to think, and to turn to the Bible for light. And thinking, and reading, and praying, the light came to him. Here is one of his secret communings :

“Thou, O God, revealest to us that only *he* does not know the truth, who disobediently separates himself from thy workings, who in will and deed seeks to avoid thy lawful order which makes our knowledge consistent and true ; that man, erring, *brought* sin and its sad consequences on himself, and still brings them on himself as long as he perseveres in sin ; but thou art merciful and gracious, long-suffering, and abundant in goodness and truth, leaving untried no means compatible with our nature, liberty and reason, to lead us back into the way of truth, to draw us out of misery, corruption and woe, to renew us, and graft us anew like a branch into the stem of thy only-begotten Son (thy Word, by Whom thou hast also made all things), that of His Spirit out of His blood we may acquire renewed strength for victory in the struggle with evil, and blessed with the forgiveness of our sins, restored to righteousness and holiness, stand as thy children before thee, to enter upon our incorruptible inheritance in a new life and a new world. How can I be careless now in the search of eternal truth, disbelieve that I shall find it, and without hope of the eternal enjoyment of its glorious fruits ? No, with unremitting diligence I will now seek the truth,

* Ebel, *Schlüssel zur Erkenntniss der Wahrheit*, Leipzig, 1837, p. 7.

inquire and search for it in the right way, regard it with admiration and accept it with ecstatic joy. . . . Wrong pride shall not mislead me any more in the vain conceit of grasping it by means of my own reason, or of developing it within myself by my own powers ; that were to lose it. I will seek it reasonably, and not unreasonably, and avoid regarding thy glorious dower as a sundered fragment of thy infinite wisdom, or as a gift wrought by thy omnipotence but separated from it, to be used at my discretion ; I will rather regard it as the operation of Thy Essence near, and intimately blended with my being, identifying it in thy commandments of order, righteousness and holiness, and shunning evil as contained in the opposite temptations, which, though they seek to excuse concupiscence, can never rejoice the mind or be approved by it, but must, if indulged, eventuate in error and misery. Whenever I think, or will, or do anything without regard to the difference of these two opposite voices within me, or without the distinct perception that the voice of the Alone Good within me thinks, wills or prompts me to action, then I think of reason as my own faculty, and not as the faculty of God, and therefore abuse it. On this account, then, I will avoid employing my own reason as conduced to evil, but employ reason as thy gift, in full consciousness, all the oftener and more diligently, because it is Thy Will that I shall think, will and act reasonably, and thereby grow wise and happy."*

Speaking of *change*, and arguing on the universality of its existence, and the laws which seem to regulate it, Schönherz asks :

"Whither would the most careful consideration of all the changes within and around us ultimately lead us if we fail to know the true reason of their existence and formative aim? Simply look backwards and forwards on our condition of life, and we are constrained to say : I find that I was a child and became a youth ; that I am growing into manhood—and if it be reserved for me that venerable gray deck my brow, I shall, arrayed in feebleness, descend into the grave. Into the grave? a thought fit to crush giant pride! all my feelings recoil from the thought! Alas! should May only bloom, and its breath ravish, its shade refresh, and the nightingale

* "Grundzüge der Erkenntniss der Wahrheit," p. 14.

sing, and the grape grow mellow, to whisper in the flowers, in their balmy fragrance, in the animating breeze, in the warble of the songsters, and the delicious juice, the horrid remembrance, Mortal man, to-day you feel as yet a spark of happiness, but remember that irrevocable fate may snatch you to-morrow from every enjoyment for evermore ! And you, the most cherished of treasures—love, friendship and virtue—three sister goddesses, wont to scatter roses on the earthly path of the best, tell me, why do you breathe into mortal breast divine feelings which in point of duration can no more measure eternity than a drop of water the unfathomable sea ? What ? did some potent hand raise me from the dust into life only to dash me with the same potency back into my former nothingness ? Tyrants that cast thousands and thousands of better men into roaring flames were not as cruel, as unmerciful as He would be who gave me life only as the perpetual torture of an uncertain future ! But I look at the misery of the race in all its magnitude ! Friends and relations, brothers and sisters, companions of my life,—I look at you, and all that came before you, asking : What murder-arm robbed you of all the highest good of this earth ? Who was it that swept the devastating sickle of terrific death unsparingly over the lives of you all ? Why have you ceased to walk amongst us in the noonday of your strength ? Where are you, brothers and sisters mine, and all your ancestral fathers and mothers up to the first scion of the race ? I see thee no more, Abel the shepherd king and first servant of the Most High God, by the flowery banks of Euphrates ! Was it necessary that thy own and first brother should slay thee and give thee the first instruction of the ravages of death ? O hapless race, how deep was thy fall from the very cradle of thy greatness into the abyss of woe ! and thou still continuest to slake thy thirst with the blood of thy brethren, and to still thy hunger with the toil of the poor and infirm without supplying any possible remedies. . . . And is this to be your ultimate lot—the course of your culture and the goal of your destiny—that born as a child you die even more pitiable than a child, without attaining the lofty dignity of manhood ?—or as an imaginary man, after a few steps on the road to perfection, wander from it as a withered apprentice ?—or that after the happy dream of a few moments of life, you wake no more but to number your steps to your grave ? and what then ? are not your wishes carried on pinions boasting of happiness into eter-

nity? Does your consciousness long to expect the dust of annihilation, or your germinating reason the decay of corruption?

“ But who furnishes the necessary evidence that, though the nobility of virtue should sanction all your opinions and volitions by an unexceptionable law, and represent all your works as examples worthy of imitation, that you are warranted to expect, beyond the grave, a spark of recollection, or a compensatory emotion? You do not even know whether your own self was formed by a wise deity or through the concurrence of crude atoms—whether it be a single thinking substance or only a multitude of monads, composed exclusively of spiritual matter under a bodily form, or of really divisible matter. Are you able to know that Charon’s trusty boat will take you to the eternally calm and happy shores of Elysium, or that devastating storms will drive you into every part of the earth, and an eternally blind course of nature transform you into a thousand other existences, if you do not know the pilot who brought you to the motley shores of this life, and never saw the great artificer who spun and wove the flower of your life and guided your fortune as with a staff? Are happiness or unhappiness, virtue or vice, the daughters of your will? What a contradiction do you perceive in the concept of a loving ruler of innumerable worlds, filled with infinite multitudes of creatures, ministering and not ministering, useful and hurtful, life-engendering and life-destroying, moral and immoral! He that implanted in your heart the sweetest anticipations of the happy continuance of life after seeming death, nevertheless enshrouds the beatific assurance in inexplicable darkness.

“ Here, then, O hapless race, is presented a mirror in which you may observe the degradation of a greatness which began to shun you with the fall of brotherly love! How will you now rear the scaffold of your happiness and found the throne of your knowledge? Truly, nothing is able more effectually to check the excesses of your vice and to crown with well-deserved blessing the small remnant of your virtue, than learning to understand and practise the good and the right, not in pretended faith, but as the result of well-informed conviction. Then immortality will not merely glimmer on your path as a blessed star of hope, but illuminate it with bright expectation, and the just as well as the unjust may already mete out their recompense of reward this side the grave. And if

your earthly happiness is to realize those ideals of perfection which the mind can form and the heart longs for, you must learn to understand your origin, the duty of your existence, and the ultimate end of your destination. You must learn to hear and know your nothingness and your divine greatness from the indubitable truth that God is your Father, who has given you all you have, and who can give you everything. Then, and then only, will peace re-enter your tabernacles, concord clasp the hearts of brothers, love unite a people of brothers on earth, joy bound for you in every blade of grass, God live for you in the smallest flower, appear to you in the very dust, and the brotherhood of all the earth become a universal Eden.”*

On the subject of happiness I present the following extract:

“ The innate or implanted desire of all creatures is as plain as possible ; they all desire happiness. This is likewise the secret wish of man, the realization of which depends, however, on his growing fit for happiness and worthy of it, through the full development of all his faculties, intellectual, spiritual and moral, and the full conviction that this is not his own exclusive privilege, but a privilege he shares in common with every member of the human family. Still it must be remembered that *worth* alone, either viewed personally as before his own conscience, or relatively with respect to others, cannot be the sole end of moral conduct, for worth is far more than the mere sound of it ; it is a pleasing and delightful emotion, springing from the consciousness of the proper fulfilment of duty with respect to ourselves and others, and assuring us that, as pure and moral beings, we are fit and worthy to live as men amongst men. . . .

“ But if the cognition of moral worth is always accompanied by a pleasing and delightful emotion, or at least by peace and contentment, does it not seem as if that delightful consciousness, springing from the cognition of moral worth, were the true end of moral conduct ? Were moral precepts not presented to and inscribed upon our heart and mind in order to make us, with the rest of the human family, partakers of happiness ? Or are we to disallow that the

* 1. c. p. 24.

consciousness of moral worth, of peace of mind and contentment, is a delightful emotion and constitutes happiness? But it is impossible that there should be consciousness without emotion, and cognition without consciousness, and the cognition of moral worth without consciousness; every emotion, moreover, must be pleasing or displeasing, and every emotion which springs from the consciousness of moral worth, peace of mind and contentment must be pleasing, not displeasing; and if every pleasing emotion enters into the notion of happiness, it follows that the pleasing emotion which springs from the consciousness of moral worth, renders us happy. And if it renders us happy at any time, or only once, as it necessarily must, it follows that the ultimate reason of moral precepts sets forth the lofty aim of placing happiness within reach of the whole human family. But as this end cannot be accomplished otherwise than in conformity with the plan of moral precepts, we learn that for this purpose they are presented to the mind and inscribed upon the heart. The ultimate, true and sole aim of the reasonable activity of every man is, and must remain, the obtaining of his happiness, to be striven for in the assured way of truth and righteousness."*

The views of Schönherr we have considered thus far do not present anything at all out of the way, they are just such views, which a thoughtful biblical mind would naturally evolve by hard, compact reasoning, and some of his positions are singularly well taken, and expressed in strong, terse language. We shall now consider others which characterize the method of his inquiries, and his presentation of doctrine.

I begin with the term *God*. God,† according to him, denotes not absolute, but relative *Being*, and *Being* in the sense of Existence. Were it not so, how could Christ—who declared that,

“ ‘To this end was I born, and for this cause came I into the world, that I should bear witness unto the truth’ (St. John xviii. 37) argue as He did with the Jews (*Ib.* x. 24 sqq.) when He had told

* l. c. p. 48.

† *Panier der Wahrheit*, etc. Königsberg, pp. 28, 29.

them: 'I and my Father are one,' and they charged Him with blasphemy, because He, a man, made Himself God. He stated, in return: 'Is it not written in your law' (Ps. lxxxii. where the reference is to persons competent in virtue of their office to exercise rule and authority over others) 'I said, Ye are gods? If he [or, *it*] called them gods unto whom the word of God came (*i. e.* this declaration 'Ye are gods'), and the Scripture cannot be broken, say ye of Him, whom the Father hath sanctified, and sent into the world, Thou blasphemest, because I said, I am the Son of God?' If the term God did not denote a relation, a relative existence, how could our Lord, who said: 'I ascend to my God,' be Himself called God in Holy Scripture? and again, if called God Himself, how could He call the Father His God? It will not do to say that Christ said this as *man*, and that He was not called God until after His *Ascension*. It was *before* His ascension that Thomas, under the overwhelming sense of the divine dignity which confronted him in the person of Jesus, exclaimed: 'My Lord and my God!' But Christ spoke of God as of *His* God, when He spoke of His ascension; and yet He said: 'No man hath ascended up to Heaven, but He that came down from Heaven, even the Son of Man which is in Heaven.' It was with reference to His nature and dignity, as the Image of the Glory of God, and to His intimate Union with God, that He testified concerning Himself: 'I and my Father are one'; but He regarded the Father in His Personal and all-embracing Being as different from Himself, both as the Cause of His own existence in human form, and as the Cause of His original existence as the Word with God, when He testified of Him, saying: 'My Father is greater than I.' The concept of God is therefore a correlative term, indicating the reciprocal relation of Beings, and it is the *true* concept of God. But this concept of God leads to a *Supreme* Being, *i. e.*, to *God*, in the *strictest* acceptation of the term."

Next in order we have to present Schönherr's notion of *Duality*.*

"The existence of two original Beings does not conflict with the Unity of God either agreeably to reason or to Holy Scripture; for

* *Die Schutzwehr*, Königsberg, 1834, p. 6.

God-Being presupposes the reciprocal relation of Beings. A Being may be original, eternal, independent, and endowed with every attribute we can think of in order to raise it to the highest degree of exaltation, without being on that account *God*; for so long as there is no other Being beside it, it is only a Being; but God denotes a Being superior to other Beings. That Being, who among all Beings belonging to the universe, is the *Supreme* Being, and so related to all other Beings as to exercise rule, power and authority over them, guiding and ruling them according to His Will, that Being is *God*. And this is in exact agreement with the sense Holy Scripture attaches to the phrase 'to be God,' for it represents God saying to Moses: 'He (*i. e.* Aaron) shall be thy spokesman unto the people; and he shall be thy mouth and *thou shalt be his God*.' (This is agreeably to Luther's version; the '*instead of*' of the A. V. cannot be regarded as a felicitous rendering of *?*). If, then, we meet with the existence of two Beings, originally eternal and independent, as revealed in the world of creation, we are not by any means warranted to make it conflict with the Unity of God, for, in common with all believers of all time, the doctrine of the original Beings taught in Holy Scripture notwithstanding, we also find therein only 'the *One* true God.'

"This *One God** is the Supreme or Most High God, who can create whatsoever He wills, the stronger, and alone governing Original Being or Jehovah Elohim, to whom the weaker is always inferior both as to the design of their harmony (because two ruling centres must produce rupture, not union), and as to his inferior power, being as unable to increase his as God is unable to lessen His. Holy Scripture presents water as the formative matter, in which, and out of which, God rears the bright and fair temple of His sacred dwelling.

"On this point Holy Scripture teaches the existence of only two Elohim, viz.: one Eloah as fire, and one Eloah as water, for these two are *uncreated* (Gen. i. 2); they go before Israel in the pillar of cloud and the pillar of fire (Ex. xiii. 21); they only appear on Sinai (Ex. xix. 21), for the consuming fire was only in a dark cloud, which consists of water; only two cherubim (a manifest instruction as to the number of the Original Beings) are placed,

* *Sieg der göttlichen Offenbarung*, pp. 30, 31 and *passim*.

in token of the visible presence of the Elohim, over the ark of the covenant (Ex. xxv. 18), between them the Word speaks and answers ; it originates between them, as the Adonai. And what does this incarnate Word teach of the Elohim ? ‘ Except a man be born of *water* and of the *Spirit*, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God (St. John, iii. 3, 5). If a man be *born* of water and of the Spirit, he must originally consist only of water and of the Spirit ; and though the first man was made of the dust of the earth, the dust of the earth must originally consist of water, and on this account St. Peter declares that by the word of God the earth consisted of water and in water (*ἐξ ὕδατος οὐαὶ δι’ ὕδατος*, 2 Pet. iii. 5). If at the end of the works of creation these Elohim, or the two Original Beings, cease to work in concert, Jehovah Elohim, *i. e.* the more potent one of these Original Beings, appears on a separate day of creation, succeeding the day in which the Elohim rested, *alone*, and begins not only a new formation of one man from the solid dust particles of the ground, but builds out of him his wife ; Jehovah Elohim alone plants a garden (before that, already some herbs of the field, which as yet were not in the earth), and causes the mist to ascend and the rain to fall. And as all these things prove His pre-eminent power, so He declares Himself at the time of the giving of the Law as *God alone*, although both the Original Beings under their name of Elohim are also present, and had before conversed with Moses, and though the inferior or weaker Eloah, as dark, was in the dark cloud, when the superior or stronger Eloah was in the midst of it, and so he was likewise present in the dark cloud in the pillar of fire and the pillar of cloud for the guidance and protection of Israel. The creation, then, with its preservation, increase, perfection, and government, is the work of the stronger of the Original Beings, *i. e.* of God, or of the Jehovah of the Elohim.”

It would lead me altogether too far to reproduce here the very interesting testimony from nature which Schönherr advances in support of this dualism, which runs through the whole universe and may be traced in every department of natural science ; a few hints in that direction must suffice as embodying principles and results :

“ Investigation shows that *two original*, *i. e.*, uncreated, elements

enter into the composition of everything created by means of a *formative* law. The two original, uncreated elements are : 1. Light and fire (identical as to essence, different only in expression); and 2. Darkness or water (essentially identical). Earth and air are *not* original, but fire and water are ; whatever is created, animate or inanimate, mineral, vegetable, and animal, may be referred to the primary, original, uncreated activity of fire and water, the two Elohim ; they are the only two *simple* or *primary* potencies or Beings ; all other existences are derived or complex. *Light* is an emanation or *effluence* of fire, simple, not complex, incorporeal, spiritual (it is interesting to compare Schönherr's definition with the Miltonian line, 'Bright effluence of bright essence increase'). Light is simple and spiritual—diffuses itself as the effluence of fire in radiating form, in or through the original darkness, or, what amounts to the same thing, through water, like itself, spiritual. These *two* primary, original, uncreated Beings act and react each on the other, or in concert, and *explain*, beyond all contradiction or refutation, the otherwise inexplicable phenomena of sound, color, figure, force, whatever is real, whatever is possible, every change and every effect in man or in nature."

It will be admitted that the language of Göthe, who certainly cannot be accused of religious fanaticism, runs almost parallel to Schönherr's, when he enunciates in his *Farbenlehre* the following :

"Black, as the representative of darkness, leaves our organ in a state of rest ; white, as the representative of light, excites its activity" (p. 55). Color, he thinks, may be allegorically, symbolically, or mystically explained as a sort of language of the *primary* conditions, adding: "Having first thoroughly grasped and examined the separation of yellow and blue, and especially the greater intensity towards red, showing first the mutual inclination of two opposites and their union into a third, we cannot resist a certain mysterious intuition that these separate, opposite beings admit of a spiritual import ; and observing how they produce green downwards and red upwards, explain the first as the earthly, the second as the heavenly products of the Elohim" (p. 227). In another place Göthe pronounces the view that all colors mixed together make white an absurdity, which, with many other absurd-

ities, had been received as true for upwards of a century, in defiance of ocular evidence to the contrary; and that he, for his part, felt convinced that color is the joint product of light and that which is opposed to it. Newton's doctrine he declared to possess only the appearance of being monodic and unitary, saying that he began with first charging his unity with the very diversity he sought to deduce from it, whereas he (Göthe) held that it was better and easier to develop and construct diversity from an *admitted duality* (*ib.* p. 209, old edition).

On the subject of the *Word*,* Schönherr takes the text, based on Rom. iv. 17; Psalm xxxiii. 6, and Heb. i. 3, "God calls to that which is not, that it be, and upholds (preserves) all things by the Word of His power." *Sound* was the beginning of Creation, sound is now everlasting, and will never end. God still creates and upholds all things by the Word of His power (St. John i. 1-4), and in the midst of the incessant operations and effects in the universe, God calls to that which is not yet formed, by the Word, that it spring into being. "By faith we understand that the *ages*, $\tauούς\ αιώνας$, are framed by the Word of God, so that things which are seen were not made of things which do appear." (Heb. xi. 3). This rather difficult verse Schönherr construes, following the original Greek rather than Luther's poor, daring and false rendering that the world was made out of nothing, thus: Whatever now, in time, appears to us as formed, became what it is from something which before had not appeared, and that imports, according to him, that the two primary Beings were at that time not yet reciprocally influencing each other, on that account there was not anything formed visible, but afterwards their united power, operating in or by the Word, produced what does or will appear. But Elohim are fire and water. What? Are fire and water, if they act in concert, able to produce sound? Can they speak? Let those who do not know this read Exod. xx., where the Elohim (v. 1) out of the

* See more on the *Word*, page 281.

fire and the cloud, and Jehovah, or the consuming fire-primary Being (v. 2, sqq.) from out of the midst of that cloud, proclaimed the Law from Mount Sinai to a multitude of six hundred thousand men ; or in Deuteronomy iv. and v., how often Moses reminded them of the speech of Jehovah out of the fire in the cloud at the giving of the Law. God spoke almost daily to Moses out of the pillar of cloud and the pillar of fire, and why should fire and water in concerted action be unable to produce sound, words and speech ?

Very striking is the circumstance that throughout the history of Creation, Moses presents the act of the Divine speech in the singular of the verb, while there is a plurality of persons (i. e. **וַיֹּאמֶר** is the 3d per. sing., and **אֱלֹהִים** the nominative plural). Knowing that there are but two Elohim, we are warranted to conclude that they used but one speech. And here, where Moses narrates the first permanent act of these Elohim, i. e. the production of light by their speaking, seems to be proper place to explain the reason of his correct procedure.

For if two Elohim, unequal in power, according to their motion in infinite space, come in contact, so that the stronger moves into the weaker, and the weaker moves toward the stronger (for equal powers of the Elohim would rebound from each other), and there ensues from the contact a reciprocal effect, their two different powers combine with one united power—and this united power of the two Elohim is the power of the Word, which in the beginning, at their first contact, at their first reciprocal effect, produced the one speech between the two.

In support of this position Schönherr now adduces the testimony of nature, of which I give a brief outline. *Sound*, this element of speech, if felt or heard, invariably requires more than one Being, one Power, one Body, in order to operate (produce an effect) and sound at the same time ; but one always operates on another, and produces vibration, or reciprocal motion. And this blending of the peculiar manner of sound in the one, with the peculiar manner of sound

in the other is *sound*, or the simultaneous expression of their peculiar powers in reciprocal operation. Not a single instance can be pointed out to show that the greatest fire, the highest wave, or a projectile of the greatest velocity did ever produce a sound without resistance offered by something else. This is another proof of the necessary existence of more than one Primary Being, for the production of sound and speech, of the world and of creatures. One must always operate on the other, communicate its motion to it, and only by the power of the one, and the simultaneous commotion of the other offering resistance, sound is produced. This runs throughout nature. As every star in the light-track of its lofty course through the heavens speaks and sings, so every flower, every dust-particle on earth touched by its rays of light, makes response ; the flight of the birds answers the roaring of the sea ; the sap in plants, and liquids in animal organisms conducted by the light of life respond to the rush of fire-driven vapors in the clouds, and the whole animate creation is vocal with sound and song.

Fire, the stronger, ever works within, and Water, the weaker, works around it in the clouds without ; fire by itself, or water by itself has never emitted a sound ; alone, their speech has never been heard ; combined, they invariably produce sound, and all bodies formed of fire and water, *always* sound and resound by them, though their sound may not may not be heard by gross ears. Human speech and animal sounds mirror it forth. The efficient power of the outward object enters by means of light and darkness through the senses of the body, which is of dark water, into the soul, which is fire or light in the blood. The impressions from all the rays of the veins concentrate in the focus of the heart, under the reaction from all the ends of the ramified watery nerve-tree. Conformably to these impressions the fire and the water in the blood are brought into homogeneous relation to the objects and bound in full flow to the lungs. Here they meet with resistance, they vibrate, *i. e.*, they impart motion to the lungs, the lungs in like manner impart it to

the investing air, produce and bring forth the inner word, and then the word analogous to the object, by means of the organs of speech, speeds to the humidity of the air, which is composed of columns of light or fire, and of darkness or water, and to the near objects (also of dark and light matter), which it percusses, and thus, as a word designating its object, it is heard by hearing beings.

He then shows how fire is able to produce sound and therefore speech, by analyzing the phenomenon of lightning, the more homely one of water in a vessel placed over fire showing vibration and the emission of sound ; the sound of fire when it encounters resistance and causes the adjacent earth to tremble ; the sound of water as it gushes from the earth, and the roaring sound of ignited powder.*

According to Schönherr *Impenetrability* in the Primal Essence is a foregone conclusion of Christian inquiry. The Bible speaks of a living, a *real* God ; the mere circumstance that in our conception of Him we cognize Him as operative and real, as a substance, does not render that conception material. The existence of God has, as it were, been evaporated into the *idea* of God, *i. e.*, it has become a mere empty thought, a thought without all reality ; this has been for a long while the well-founded complaint of truly religious and thoughtful men. So far from dishonoring God, we glorify Him by making our conception of Him a reality. Power is the causal (*ur-sächlich*) or rather the primarily-essential (*ur-wesentlich*) ability of effect (*Wirkung*) ; effect as an effluence or going out (motion) of power, involves a limitation of the same, while this limitation involves an impletion to be limited. Hence power, as primarily-essential, or self-impletion, is tantamount to self-existence, and because it is impossible that *where it is*, there can be something else, it follows that its operative and, therefore, real being, or its essence, must be impenetrable. According to the Bible, then, God is the primarily essential power in self-impletion and limitation,

* *Grundzüge der Erkenntniss*, etc., p. 225, sqq.

that is, in space ; our God is real, and omnipresent, *i. e.*, existent (Ps. cxxxix. 7-10 ; Acts xvii. 27, 28).

Schönherr admitted space and time only in a certain sense as conditions of presentative thought (*i. e.* so far as they respect the opposite inconceivable presumption of infinite space, and infinite, inconceivable time) ; he forbade all inquiry outside the concepts of space and time. That which does not manifest itself within the limits of space and time, *can* not be the object of human inquiry. But we need not exceed those limits ; the divinely revealed word meets every demand within the full compass of its contents, for resting on the visible and experimental in space and time, it satisfies to the full, and exhausts the spiritual wants of our nature. Outside of space filled by the Primary Beings and of their operative acts in the process of creation (*Werden*=becoming) there is no province where man can seek or find anything. Revelation, though it takes us not beyond those confines, leads us nevertheless to the profundities of the Godhead (1 Cor. ii. 10).*

THE LIMITS OF THOUGHT.

We have a book, called the Bible, composed of two records, an older and a newer, containing revelations of God, from which is derived our knowledge of Him. The more ancient document begins with the creation which took place in the beginning, but gives us no account of anything prior to that beginning ; we are consequently unable to know anything of the Being and operations of the Deity prior to that beginning, for reason cannot enlighten us on this head, and we are without a divine revelation which could. If the record testifies that the heavens and the earth were created *in the beginning*, it imports that this occurred before the beginning of time, for the work of the creation marks the beginning of time. Before that beginning was eternity—*i. e.*, ever-during existence, which cannot be computed, cannot be understood.†

* Ebel, *Schlüssel*, etc. pp. 19-21.

† Opitz, *Licht in der Dunkelheit*, etc., p. 6, sqq. Leipzig, 1821.

ETERNITY, OLAM, AEON.*

[The Scripture quotations do not conform verbally to Luther's or to the Authorized Versions. The Hebrew words **לֹא**, **דָּבַר**, etc, and the Greek words *αἰών*, *αἰώνιος*, are for greater convenience given in English letters.]

"If I consult the Bible, I hear indeed that the Supreme Spirit says of Himself : 'Before me no God (El) was formed, neither shall there be after me' (Is. xlvi. 10) ; 'I am the first and the last, and beside me no Elohim' (xlvi. 6) ; 'I am the Lord, and there is none else, and no God except I' (xlvi. 5) ; 'I am the Lord that doeth all these things' (v. 7) ; 'The heavens are my throne, and the earth is my footstool ; . . . all those things hath mine hand made ; and all those things have come into being' (lxvi. 1, 2,) convincing me that the Speaker is the Great God, the Creator of the world, who cannot have had a beginning, and must always have been existing, but I do not find that the Bible says of Him : He is *Eternal*. In neither Testament can be found a word answering to the concept of eternal (everlasting) importing that something will not only exist forever, but that it has always existed, and has had no beginning, for Olam in the Old Testament, and Aion in the New, do not carry that sense. Attending to the sense of those words in the following places, I find that my conviction is well grounded : 'In that day will I. . . I will build it as in the days of *Olam*' (Amos ix. 11) ; 'Let them feed in Bashan and Gilead, as in the days of *Olam*' (Mic. vii. 14) ; 'The offering . . . shall be pleasant unto the Lord, as in the days of *Olam*, and as in former years' (Mal. iii. 4) ; 'from *Olam* to *Olam*' (Ps. ciii. 17) ; or 'continuous generations' (Luke i. 50) ; 'before the days of *Olam*' (Mic. v. 1) ; 'in the *Olamim*' (Eccl. i. 10) ; 'man goeth to the house of his *Olam*' (xii. 5). 'All the land which thou seest, to thee will I give it, and to thy seed,' not 'forever,' but 'unto *Olam*' (Gen.

* Opitz, *Licht in der Dunkelheit*, etc. pp. 6, 10. Leipzig, 1821.

xiii. 15); and in Ch. xvii. 8, not 'for an everlasting possession,' but 'as long as this *Olam* (this world) lasteth.'"

The Scriptures manifestly attach to the words Olam and Aion a sense different from that of time in general, or of eternity, for days and years cannot be predicated of eternity, and eternities, like eternal times, are unthinkable. Olam, Aion, and Aionios do not mean *per se* either time or eternity, and it is inconceivable that two such different and opposite terms as time and eternity should be expressed in Hebrew and Greek by one word, denoting in turn time and eternity. There is neither in German, nor in English, a single word by which the true idea of the word could be adequately expressed, for the word, though it does not signify either time or eternity, is ambiguous. Olam and Aion not only signify that which has come into being (become, *geworden*), but also the duration of it, which, agreeably to the nature and end of the same, viz., in respect of *what* it has become, and *why*, may be short, long, or for ever. The connection and context of every passage in which they occur determines their meaning (*notat integrum cuius rei, de qua sermo est, durationem*; Coccejus). Now, the first thing that *became*, the whole consisting of several parts, is the great Olam, *i. e.*, the heavens and the earth, which the Elohim created in the beginning. Now, since the great Olam, which *became* in the beginning, (*i. e.* the heavens and the earth), consists of many parts, intended to be the abode of spirits, and agreeably to that intention invested with the property of duration, the Bible speaks of Olamim and Aions in the plural, *i. e.* of regions, worlds, and durations. "Is there anything whereof it may be said, see, this is new? it hath been in the Olamim," (in the durations, Eccl. i. 10); "I have considered the days from the beginning, the years of the Olamim" (Psalms lxxvii. 6); "By faith we understand that the Aions (ages) have been framed by the word of God," and that "the Aions (ages) were made by the Son" (Heb. xi. 3; i. 2), the wisdom of God which had been hidden, and foreordained "from (before) the Aions" (1 Cor. ii. 7); and to God Himself is ascribed, 1 Tim. i. 17, as "to

the incorruptible king of the Aions (worlds), the invisible, only *wise* (?) God, honor and glory (not “for ever and ever” but) “unto the Aions of the Aions,” (*i. e.* throughout all the durations).

Man, like any other rational creature, destined to exist always, passes, before he attains salvation (1 Thess. v. 9) through two Aions. During the first time of his existence his abode is in the present world, which is his first Aion; if death removes him therefrom, he passes into the second Aion, the future world, or as it is expressed Eccl. xii. 5, “into the house of his Olam”; there are thus for us two Aions, the present and the future, Matt. xxviii. 20; Mark x. 30; 1 Tim. vi. 17; 2 Tim. iv. 10; Luke xvi. 8; xx. 34, 35. A new Aion begins with the resurrection and appearing of the Judge of the world, and who can tell the number of the coming Aions to the establishment of the kingdom of God? Hence the Aions of Aions, or the many successive originations and durations.

Now, since Olam denotes not only that which has become, but also its duration, I understand the import of the Scriptural declaration to the Israelites: “this shall be to you a right in Olam,” according to the rendering, an eternal right, an eternal continuance, *i. e.*, as long as this Olam, which has been instituted (*geworden*, become) amongst you, as long as this your prescribed mode of worship shall endure—and it did endure until Christ came with the Gospel, and prepared thereby the new way—so long shall this right and this covenant remain in operation, and be obligatory on you and your descendants.

I feel convinced that the word eternal (*ewig*) in our sense is not wanted in the Bible, which begins with the creation, but in the description thereof does not go beyond the great Olam, and reveals nothing of the existence and operation of the Great Spirit before Olam, and therefore it has no use for the word eternal (*ewig*).

I might add that the concept eternal is incompatible with our finite understanding; we *say* indeed, by way of defini-

tion, that that which has no beginning and no end is eternal, but we cannot think it. The moment we attempt to think it, and go backward or forward into ever-during Being or Existence, our thoughts vanish, and our thinking must cease, because we cannot think of anything without beginning and without end. Our understanding can only think of time, and of that which began with, and continues in it, not that which cannot be defined or computed by time.

THE ORIGIN OF EVIL.

This dualism, as unfolded by Schönherr, sheds light on the perplexing question of the *origin and existence of evil*. The difficulties of the question are tersely put by Ebel :* "What are we to make of the weeds and the enemy that sows them?" Do the enemy and his work come from God? Does a fountain yield sweet and bitter? If sin be defection from God, to whom and for whom does He give laws? Whom does He teach, punish, judge? Himself? Or is evil simply illusory and not real? How are we to reconcile the undeniable reality of evil with the divine attributes of omnipotence, omniscience, love and justice, unless we admit the existence of potential evil outside of God? What was to prevent an omnipotent God to create perfect creatures? Where is His wisdom if He did *not* create them? Is it wisdom intentionally to introduce an innumerable host of disorders and corruptions into His works, and then from abhorrence of them exert all His power to vanquish them? Would that not be a horrible play with innocent creatures? Would it not exhibit God contradicting Himself in His disposition and ends of government?

The only solution of this otherwise inexplicable and incomprehensible riddle lies in the acceptance of the Biblical statement that there is an Originator of Evil, the prince of this world ruling in the darkness of this world (St. John xiv. 30; Eph. vi. 12); and of the duality and real operativeness

* *Verstand und Vernunft*, part 2, p. 62, sqq.

of the primary Beings, in order that God, the Lord, be not charged with sin and blasphemed as the author of sin and death; and that man may courageously go forth to battle with evil, which entered the world without the instrumentality and fault of God (although He allowed it), in expectation of ultimate deliverance from its thraldom, as well of its absolute destruction, whenever in God's own good time it can be done without injury to the good (St. Matth. xiii. 29, 30). Schönherr is at special pains to separate the second primary Being from the cause of the existing incongruity in creation. It was not an obscuring of the consciousness of the second primary Being, but the disturbance of the just reciprocal causality, and on that account he gave the utmost prominence to the behests of the Divine Will in all our relations, *e. g.*, the necessary supremacy of the spirit over the flesh. He holds that the resistance and opposition of the enemy to the sacred, fundamental laws of God, is the true cause of sin and evil in the world; while its conquest and destruction are assigned to the reconciling power of the Saviour, the Son of God, who "was manifested that He might destroy the works of the devil" (1 John iii. 8).

THE KINGDOM OF GOD.

Schönherr's conception of it is strictly Biblical, and presents it as a life *under* and *in* God, according to the degree of spiritual development, and of personal consciousness. The children of God are to be found in true obedience and true love only where the Father is known, who has begotten us after His own image. According to his representation the whole of creation is clearly cognized as truly and really living, moving and being, *out* of the breath of God, *through* the power of God, and *in* the Spirit of God, and God Himself truly all-penetrating or pervading the whole; and the Kingdom of God is that condition of man and of the whole creation in which—1st. The ends of God are perfectly attained without the least obstruction or disturbance; and

2d. All creatures capable of it will, under His influence and government, enjoy the development of their powers and unmixed happiness.*

THE PERSON OF THE GOD-MAN CHRIST JESUS.

The concept "Word" or "Logos" imports :

1. A living, active, operative, efficient existence (*Sein*) in God ; for "all things were made through Him, and without Him was not anything made that is made." (John i. 3).

2. An existence founded in God, necessitated by the existence of God, or, an existence founded in the manifestation of the existence of the Essence (Substance) of God, revealing (before the creation of the world) energizing activity, to which Christ reverts, as to "the glory He had with the Father before the world was" (John xvii. 5).

3. A determinating existence begotten of God for the purpose of creation, or, an existence so far modified as to energizing activity as to involve the springing into being (*Werden*, becoming) of all things at the creation of the world ; in this respect Christ is called "the first-born of all creation" "through whom all things were made," and are preserved, for God *upholdeth* all things by the Word of His power (Heb. i. 3 ; Col. i. 17 ; John i. 3), Who is the effulgence of His glory, and the very image of His substance.

The Primal Word, accordingly, is confluent with the substance of God, and must not be regarded as substantiality separate from Him, and the creative Word not as a creature but as the *first-born*. Schönherr distinguishes the creative Word from the Primal Word on scriptural authority, for the Bible names the First-born (*πρωτότοκος*) and the Only Begotten (*μονογένης*).

Such an explanation is neither prejudicial to the Deity, nor to the eternal nature of the Only Begotten, and affords likewise a view of His Incarnation in the fulness of time, in per-

* Ebel, *Schlüssel*, p. 80.

fect accord with Holy Scripture ("for in Him dwelleth all the fulness of the Godhead bodily," Col. ii. 9); for, provided the Nature of the Logos be conceived after this manner, it is not at all difficult to harmonize the declarations of Christ and His apostles on this head.*

Nor does this view of the case involve us in any of the numerous contradictions in respect of the *human nature* of Christ, of which the history of the Church chronicles so many details. The mutual communication of the two natures in Christ becomes self-evident after we have gained a clear idea as to what constitutes a *person*, the *Ego*. The German word for *consciousness*, "Bewusstsein," recognizes, according to Ebel, the duality of the ultimate, *i. e.* the primary, reason of it, it carries a dual sense derivatively, *viz.*, *Sein*, to be or being, and *bewusst*, conscious or knowing; *i. e.* a being, and the knowing of it, implying a dualism stamped on every law of thought; for *to be* and *to know* are separate and distinct from one another, and presuppose in *created* beings a duality which enters into and coincides with our person into a unity.

Man cognizes his individuality only by *support* on another object. Without such support he would, as a merely spiritual being (as a *singular* (*i. e.* individual) being without support), dissolve in the substratum of his soul-life into *the All*; it is only through support on another that his own being (existence) leaves the general being, peculiar, distinct and individual, and according to the measure of his endowments and their development, with a growing consciousness (Bewusstwerden), which by means of the co-operating energy of his powers through the will, gradually rises into *being* conscious (Bewusstsein), and forms individuality (*Persönlichkeit*), distinguished by self-determination and self-consciousness, the possession of which imparts to the *Ego* its perfect reality.

But it is not so in the case of the consciousness of the Absolute Spirit, wherein the conditions of cognizing Himself coincide with the unconditioned Essence circling within Itself,

* *Schutzwehr*, p. 7, sqq.; *Schlüssel*, pp. 122-124.

and in as far as Christ is *essentially* One with the Father, He could speak of the glory He had with Him before the world was, and in this respect, He had a Being absolutely founded in God and determined through the same. His Divinity is indubitable.

But alike indubitable is his *true humanity*, for in that there showed itself in Him a determining Being, He entered the rank of persons of our visible world, He became *flesh*, and thereby an individual, and His Divinity in so far conditioned, that its revelation appeared dependent on external relations, especially in the development of the indwelling divine nature agreeably to the law of sequence in time ; hence He increased (or advanced) in wisdom (Luke ii. 52) ; and not until He was baptized by John did the fulness of the Holy Spirit descend upon Him to abide upon Him, just as He was not glorified with the glory which He had with God before the world was, until after He had tasted death for us (John xvii. 5).

So far from regarding the mutual communication of the two natures in the Person of the Saviour as a mutual limitation, the relation may be presented after this manner : the First-born, who is at the same time the Only-born ; the Word which was in the beginning, appears as at first in His operation, so afterwards at His coming into the visible order of things, accepted the condition of earthly existence in such wise that the primal consciousness of His Divinity was neither disturbed nor suspended, and that it was only the *Man* Christ Jesus (whom God, His God, had anointed with the oil of gladness above His fellows, Heb. i. 2), in whom the fulness of the Godhead dwelt bodily.”*

It is exceedingly difficult to do justice in precise terms, without circumlocution, to these profound abstractions, which are mainly given for the purpose of marking their originality. Their further development and analysis, and comment upon them, would lead me too far.

The following passage is very striking :

* *Schlüssel*, etc., pp. 124-127.

“ Through the vast space of the universe (out of the fulness of the energizing activity of the united Primal Powers agreeably to the will and pleasure of the Sole Creator and Lord of heaven and earth according to the original law of operation) the developments of being are at work, and as does the heavenly host in the *invisible regions* of the world, so likewise does the countless multitude of different creatures pervade all the *realms of nature*, culminating in man as the fulcrum of their full co-operation. Everything under the same law, everything in constant development of being, everything moved and engaged in dualism. It is characteristic of time, in its process of germination and development, that all the sciences, and all the directions in which the mind of man travels, ultimately commingle. And may we not identify the red thread that runs through them? Inquiring into the history of the development of the earth-body, we found at first a period of dead matter without form and life in a rude metallic mass; in a second period it took form, and law fettered it in crystalline combinations; in a third it became obedient to vegetative life; plants covered the surface and unconscious animals animated the waters; in a fourth period the vegetative life developed into animal life, and animals endowed with the capability of joy and sorrow were eagerly occupied with the further refinement of matter by changing the substance of plants into their bodies. In the fifth period the intellectual life of man began to develop its power in the conquest of matter, the subjugation of the elements, the enslaving of living creatures, in order to gather the intellectual harvest in a sixth period, we will say that which began with the art of printing, into a unit. Thus the earth-body is only a seed-bed, in which the pleasant heritage of man luxuriates, and the history of nature is only the history of progressive victories of mind over matter. This is the fundamental thought of creation, for the attainment of which individuals and entire generations are made to disappear, raising the present on the scaffolding of an immense past.” *

In the same connection may be read :

* *Schlüssel*, etc., pp. 193, 194, and citing Baer, *Ueber das allgemeine Gesetz der Entwicklungsgeschichte der Natur*, Königsberg, 1834.

“ So schauet mit bescheid’nem Blick
 Der ewigen Weberin Meisterstück,
 Wie ein Tritt tausend Fäden regt,
 Die Schiffllein hinüber, herüber schiessen,
 Die Fäden sich begegnend fliessen,
 Ein Schlag tausend Verbindungen schlägt.
 Das hat sie nicht zusammengebettelt ;
 Sie hat’s von Ewigkeit angezettelt ;
 Damit der ewige Meistermann
 Getrost den Einschlag werfen kann.”

Göthe, *Zur Morphologie*, I., p. 113.

SPIRIT, SOUL AND BODY.

According to 1 Thess. v. 23, we must distinguish between spirit, soul and body. In the *soul* the Primal Beings work united, and it is the *Ego* which dominates both in the formative law of our birth, and in the subsequent choice we make of the use of the divine provision for our proper education, both of soul and body—that is, in our regeneration.

Spirit denotes the dominant, quickening or impelling principle in man ; it is of divine origin (Gen. ii. 7), and the Scripture calls those who submit to the government of the Spirit of God *πνευματικοί* (spiritual); while those who do not submit are called *ψυχικοί* (natural) and in their lowest degradation *σαρκικοί* (carnal). Yet it is not the *body* as such that induces those states ; all depends the rather on the inward direction which the individual gives to his *heart*, which in the Scriptures is regarded as the centre of the soul, the determining faculty, as it were, of the soul, marking, according to the choice he makes, the character of the individual, as spiritual or carnal. This is brought out in Rom. vii. 22, 23, where the *soul*, *i. e.* the *Ego*, in process of becoming (*werdend*) is placed between the law in the mind (*i. e.* the law of the Spirit) and the law in the members (*i. e.* the law in the flesh) moved or influenced by one or the other, until the Holy Spirit (the Spirit of Him that raised up Christ from the dead, and thereby established a new principle of

life becomes dominant ; and we are led by Him as the children of God (viii. 14), so that the apostle preached on that account and as a natural and necessary consequence the regeneration of the body (v. 11) through the power of the Risen Christ, as being truly the restoration of man conformably to the image of Him who has called us to glory and virtue.*

Schönherr, says Ebel in a note (p. 203), was wont to distinguish the men of the sixth day from the descendants of Adam (see Gen. iv. 14-17 ; vi. 1, sqq.). The former he calls *Elohim*-men, the latter *Jehovah*-men, because of the divine breath ($\pi\nu\varepsilon\nu\alpha$) which distinguished them. The inferior race was designed to be elevated and improved by the superior, but sin having come in, drew down the pneumatic race into the soulish region, and the destruction by means of the flood was necessary, in order to make room for a new planting.

A very interesting and able contribution to the trichotomic distinction of the nature of man is found in Klaiber, *Die Neutestamentliche Lehre von der Sünde und Erlösung*, Stuttgart, 1836, p. 22, sqq.

REGENERATION.†

The creative elements, according to the Bible, are engaged in our regeneration. Hence Schönherr says :

“ Jesus commanded the baptism with water, and baptizes at the same time with the Holy Spirit and with fire, to teach us that as originally we *became* out of fire and water, and, in our corrupt state, so we may be born anew, and be wholly restored out of the two, the independent Elohim, and their Word of instruction. It is the power of the Most High, which (in the Holy Spirit) comes over man, uttering light into the darkness of his natural being, and depositing in him the germ of the new life, of the noble graft from

* *Schlüssel*, pp. 196-198, Appendix A. *The Great Change*, Part II.

† Ida v. d. Gröben, *Die Liebe zur Wahrheit*, pp. 292-297 *passim*.

the heart of Paradise above, unto the resurrection of the new life ; with this difference between the new creation and the first, that in the latter the creature is called into existence without its consciousness; whereas in the former, the creature is both conscious and co-operative. . . .

“ When the first drawings of the love of God prompt the yearning within us to live forever in its element—when under the breathing of Life the new life germinating, tender as yet though resolute, eagerly aspires to the anticipated liberty, in order to live forever (Matth. xvi. 24, 25)—that is the time of visitation and *preparation* for free choice.

“ Man, in the bright beams of divine mercy, begins to take delight in the law of God after the inner man (Rom. vii. 22), and seeks the light, exulting in the joy of his heavenly calling, for the Lord is his Light, and makes his darkness light. But sin as yet holds him bound through the law in his members, until (sincere Christians know this progress) in the extremity of the struggle between hostile assaults and the yearning for deliverance, the only hope of successful transition from death to life lies in grasping the power of God. . . . As the light shining into his natural darkness taught him to be afraid of himself, so love holding up before his heart the indelible image of its holiness, inspires him with longing for it. This is the moment in which it is said, ‘ Draw nigh to God, and He draws nigh to you ’ (Jas. iv. 8), and then faith comes in, with firm confidence concerning that which we hope, and without doubt concerning that which we do not see ; even faith in the grace of God, and the cheerful surrender of our will to the will of God.

“ How little man’s fidelity in this the natal hour of his will unto liberty deserves to be called a *free* act, is evident from the fact that in this his turning to God, so far from being conscious of actual willing, and still less of ability, he is conscious only of his inability to deliver himself from his deadness ; and while under the billows of darkness and death he reaches for a rope of deliverance—like one apparently dead moves in order to be able to move—dreading the worst but for the cheering assurance of the mercy of God, who does not break the bruised reed or quench the dimly burning wick (Is. xlvi. 3) . . . he is supported and strengthened with cheerful consolation, patiently and courageously to endure the pangs of his regeneration (2 Cor. vii. 10). . . .

"As a sleeper is wont to be near waking, when he dreams that he dreams, so morning begins to dawn in the case of the spiritual sleeper, when he begins to grow aware of the sleep that lies upon his spiritual life ; he is near his deliverance, when the chains of his sins cause him pain, and his great sickness turns into self-accusation. Nevertheless, God is near him, but according to the law of essential reciprocity, operating not less in the individual than in the whole—man must in the struggles of the hour of the travail of his spiritual life, assert himself. It is the will of God that man look up and seek Him objectively, and love Him in return."

HEAVEN AND HELL.*

The law of thought is simple. It runs thus : similars go together, dissimilars do not go together, according to this formula : $+ a$ and $+ b$ make a sum, but $+ a$ and $- b$ a difference ; what comes together is united, what does not come together is separated. So likewise the eternal law of thought. According to it God judges on earth, as in heaven, and will judge in the last day ; according to this law heaven and hell are thinkable and real. The positive a , the Godhead, really looks on the negative b , sinful man † (collectively), in mercy and grace, and according to His wonderful Power, effects really that $a - b$ become like $a + b$, become, not are. The miracles of God are effects not inconceivable, not impossible, but more than possible, transcending human power. There-

* Diestel, *Ursache und Wirkung auch im Bereich des Glaubens*. Königsberg, 1835, p. 105, sqq.

† In order to avoid a dangerous misapprehension it is proper to remark, what to those familiar with arithmetical processes is of course superfluous, that

1. The negation inheres in b , and is not made to adhere by a : God is not the Tempter to evil ; he does not tempt any man.

2. The sign minus (the negation in b) does not cancel b , but denotes the character of b ; b is not canceled (negates), but canceling (negating) ; sin is not as it were, the absence of good, but the presence of evil.

fore it is wrong, and a dreadful error to say that $+ a - b = a + b$; for the negation b is not absolute (the assumption would be nonsensical), but relative, a negation as to a ; enmity against God. This negation God cancels (He has placed in us the word of reconciliation, 2 Cor. iii. 19); the $- b$ is changed, metamorphosed, reconciled, delivered from the negation, freed from sin, and becomes $+ b$; with the result that $+ a + b = a + b$. But where the negation remains there remains the difference; and where the difference becomes real, and the operation is finished, where the positive a meets the negative b , the positive a is the more potent negation of the negative b ; then God is a consuming fire, that the ungodly suffer punishment, the everlasting destruction from the face of the Lord and from His glorious power. The terrestrial laws of thought are eternal on earth: $a + b$ is a sum, and $a - b$ a difference; and so likewise in the world to come $a + b$ the sum, the together, heaven; $a - b$ the difference, separation, hell.

CONSCIOUSNESS CONTINUES AFTER DEATH.*

“The consciousness of our dead,” said Schönherr of those who are asleep in the Lord, “cannot cease, because the remaining, fixed, imperishable parts of the perishable body exist indestructible and cannot pass away, and further because the law affecting departed souls is grounded on the imperishable formation of thoughts, words and actions, which previously during this earthly life did already exist along with the complements, as the permanent, firm formation of the two Primal Beings. This firm, imperishable, and immediate spirit-product, which during the earthly life had the ability to think and speak, which ability it also retains, because it was formed according to this law, is and remains both the germ and support of the soul, as an immortal spirit-nature, and as the same conditions of consciousness continue, it follows that in connection with the spirit it retains consciousness.”

* Ebel, *Philosophie der heiligen Urkunde*, iii., p. 111.

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Most solemn are the inferences bearing on morals which naturally and necessarily flow from the doctrine of the two Primal Beings, with the fullest recognition of the Gospel truth that eternal life must needs begin on earth, in order that consummation and perfection may be realized in the world to come (John vi. 40, 54). The life of a true Christian infolds the still closed germ of a glorious future, but, on the other hand, all whose eyes are closed in death, cannot be called blessed. By means or out of faith, laying hold of the righteousness of Christ, we are restored to the faith and righteousness accepted of God—and with this is given the luminous centre of the new life, the sanctifying principle of regeneration, which becomes manifest at the turning point of death. But though the word of faith is not preached to all men, and consequently all men are not placed in such a decisive state of conscious accountability to be either saved or condemned, it is nevertheless not inconceivable that the condition of a filial, confiding surrender to the Supreme Being, of a yielding to the attraction of a presiding power and love en chaining a transforming influence of their nature, should operate upon the individual members of a race living, moving and having its being in God, enabling them according to their degree of accountability, to up-build in their hearts heaven or hell even this side the grave. “Blessed are they that hunger and thirst after righteousness, for they shall be filled” (Matth. v. 6).

* Ebel, *Schlüssel*, etc., p. 238.

APPENDIX C.

HYMNS.

JESUS, MEINE LIEBE, LEBET.

1. JESUS, meine Liebe, lebet,
Dem es ist so wohl gelungen,
Dass der Feind nun vor ihm bebet,
Und der Tod im Sieg verschlungen ;
Er, mein Heil, ist wieder Licht,
Der im Grabe lag verbleichet,
Aber jetzt der Sonne gleichet,
Mit verklärtem Angesicht.
2. Einen hoffnungsvollen Blick,
Und ein unvergänglich Wesen,
Bringt mir diese Sonn' zurück,
Und giebt mir ein Wort zu lesen :
Dass die Glieder, ihrem Haupt,
Gleich im Leben, gleich im Sterben,
Gleiches Leben sollen erben,
Dessen sie zuvor beraubt.
3. Liebe, stärker als der Tod,
Du giebst klare Siegeszeichen,
Machst den Feind zum Friedensbot',
Läss't den Tod zum Heil gereichen ;
Denn wie sollt' zur Sterbenszeit
Mich die Botschaft könnt' erschrecken,
Die mir sagt von Auferwecken,
Nichts von Todes-Bitterkeit.

4. Sehet nicht auf die Gestalt !
 Dieser Tod ist nur ein Schlafen :
 Kein Feind hat nun mehr Gewalt
 An den wiederfundnen Schafen ;
 Denn der auferstandne Hirt,
 Der sich selbst für sie gegeben,
 Führt sie durch den Tod zum Leben,
 Wo er ewig triumphirt.
5. Bringt man mich dem Grabe zu,
 Das du, Lebens-Sonn', durchscheinest ;
 So komm' ich zur süßen Ruh,
 Da du dich mit mir vereinest.
 Wenn du nun die Stimm' erhebst,
 So wird dies mein Fleisch erwachen,
 Denn du wirst es lebend machen,
 Und mich bringen, wo du lebst.
6. Komm, mein Hirte, führe mich !
 Liebe ! gieb, dass ich dich schmecke.
 Sonne ! lass mich sehen dich,
 Dass der Tod mich nicht erschrecke ;
 Führst du mich zum Leben hin,
 Gieb dass ich dir folgen möge,
 Durch die dir beliebten Wege,
 Bis ich ewig bei dir bin.

JESUS MEINE ZUVERSICHT. (Easter Hymn).

Written by Louise, Electress of Brandenburg.

1. JESUS meine Zuversicht,
 Und mein Heiland ist mein Leben,
 Dieses weiss ich, soll' ich nicht
 Darum mich zufrieden geben ?
 Was die lange Todes-Nacht
 Mir auch für Gedanken macht.

2. Jesus, der mein Heiland, lebt,
Ich werd' auch das Leben schauen,
Sein, wo mein Erlöser schwebt,
Warum sollte mir dann grauen ?
Lässet auch ein Haupt sein Glied,
Welches es nicht nach sich zieht ?
3. Ich bin durch der Hoffnung Band
Zu genau mit ihm verbunden,
Meine starke Glaubenshand
Wird in ihn gelegt befunden,
Dass mich auch kein Todesbann
Ewig von ihm trennen kann.
4. Ich bin Fleisch, und muss daher
Auch einmal zu Aschen werden,
Das gesteh' ich, doch wird er
Mich erwecken aus der Erden,
Dass ich in der Herrlichkeit
Um ihn sein mög' alle Zeit.
5. Dann wird eben diese Haut
Mich umgeben, wie ich glaube ;
Gott wird werden angeschaut,
Wann ich aufsteh' aus dem Staube.
Und in diesem Fleisch werd' ich
Jesum sehen ewiglich.
6. Dieser meiner Augen Licht
Wird Ihn meinen Heiland kennen,
Ich, ich selbst, kein Fremder nicht,
Werd' in seiner Liebe brennen ;
Nur die Schwachheit um und an
Wird von mir sein abgethan.
7. Was hie kränket, seufzt und fleht,
Wird dort frisch und herrlich gehen,
Irdisch werd' ich ausgesät,
Himmlisch werd' ich auferstehen.

Hier geh' ich natürlich ein,
Nachmals werd' ich geistlich sein.

8. Seid getrost und hoch erfreut,
Jesus trägt euch, meine Glieder !
Gebt nicht Statt der Traurigkeit,
Sterbt ihr, Christus ruft euch wieder,
Wann die letzt' Posau erklingt,
Die auch durch die Gräber dringt.
9. Lacht der finstren Erden-Kluft,
Lacht des Todes und der Höllen,
Denn ihr sollt euch durch die Luft
Eurem Heiland zugesellen ;
Dann wird Schwachheit und Verdruss
Liegen unter eurem Fuss.
10. Nur dass ihr den Geist erhebt
Von den Lüsten dieser Erden,
Und euch dem schon jetzt ergebt,
Dem ihr beigefügt sollt werden.
Schickt das Herze dahinein,
Wo ihr ewig wünscht zu sein,

POEMS.

From the *Morgenwache*,
by Ida, Gräfin von der Gröben.

I.

ERFÜLLUNG.

(Fulfilment, a Christmas Hymn, written 1847.)

Is. ix. 6, 7.

1. NIMMER soll es sein vergessen—
Wenn die Finsternisse pressen—
Was zu Bethlehem geschehen,
Als Gott liess den Stern aufgehen.

Zwiefach in der Knechtschaft Banden,
 Fremdling in den eignen Landen,
 Schien dem Volk, so hoch erkoren,
 Die Verheissung fast verloren,—
 Da ward ihm *ein Kind* geboren.

2. Ob auch alle Heiden toben,
 Ob die Juden Steine hoben,
 Ihre Zeit war längst gemessen ;
 Der im Himmel ist gesessen,
 Spottet ihrer von der Höhe
 Und bedroht sie in der Nähe ;
 Doch dem Volk in dessen Herzen
 Seine Kripp' und Sterneskerzen—
 Diesem heisst es *Wunderbar*.
3. Wunder ist ihm sein Erretten
 Aus des eis'gen Zweifels Ketten ;
 Wunder sind ihm seine Wege,
 Seine schmalen, steilen Stege,
 Dass die Seinen, aller Enden
 Sich da zu einander fänden,—
 Mitten durch der Feinde Mauern,
 Die von beiden Seiten lauern,—
 Denn der Retter heisset *Rath*.
4. Ob zur Rechten, ob zur Linken
 Die verschied'nen Geister winken,
 Es dem Gleise zu entrücken,
 Und mit Dunkelheit zu drücken ;
 Ob sich drängen Schreckgewalten,
 Räthselvolle Truggestalten ;
 Weisheit strömet Well' auf Welle
 Aus des Sternleins lichter Quelle—
 Denn das Kindlein heisset *Kraft*.
5. Wo die Lüfte Flammen führen,
 Und die Wasser Engel rühren,

Wo das Wort dem Meer geboten
 Und erwecket hat die Todten,
 Wo das Felsengrab zerrissen
 Und die Hölle weichen müssen—
 Dort hat sich der Stern gezeiget,
 Alles sich zum Sieg geneiget,
 Denn das Kindlein heisset *Held*.

6. In den Kampf ist er gegangen
 Aus barmherzigem Verlangen,
 Zu des Feindes Lagerstätten,
 Die Gefang'nen zu erretten.
 In des Wortes heil'ger Rüstung,
 Vor des Weltreichs finstrer Brüstung ;
 Er allein vor Satans-Nesten,
 Durch des Geistes Krieges-Vesten ;
 Der da *Ewig-Vater* heisst.
7. Ewig in des Vaters Wesen
 Ist das Liebeswort gewesen,
 Endlich aus des Vaters Herzen
 Ging der Sohn in Liebesschmerzen,
 Um auf ewig Vater-Lieben
 An den Brüdern auszuüben ;
 Für den Tod will er das Leben,
 Für den Zwiespalt Friede geben,
 Heisset Er doch *Friede-Fürst*.
8. Es ist *vor* Ihm hergezogen
 Jener schöne Friedensbogen ;
 Als ein äuss'rer Bundeszeuge,
 Dass des Höchsten Huld sich neige,
 Mit ihm strahlt der inn're Friede,
 Wie in jedem Farbengliede.
 Also wird Er Friede schaffen
 Durch der Wahrheit ein'ge Waffen—
 Friede *Seinem Königreich*.

II.

HELDENMUTH.

(Heroic courage. St. Matth. xxii. 1-14. For the twentieth Sunday after Trinity).

1. FREIWILLIGE! hervor ins Feld,
Hervor in Schmuck und Wehre,
Es geht zum König in sein Zelt,
Zum sieggewohnten Heere,
Schaut nicht mehr nach dem Heerde um,
Schwenkt euer Fähnlein keck herum !
2. Wen angestrahlt das höchste Gut,
Wem schön're Loose fielen,
Wird nicht, wie ein Philister thut,
Nach Weib und Aeckern schielen,
Er schlägt, was irdisch in den Wind,
Ist ein frei herrlich Gotteskind.
3. Verachtet, was die Welt verehrt,
Ehrt, was die Welt verhöhnet,
Schämt dessen sich, was sie bescheert,
Ihr Lob er nicht begehret.
Das ist der ebenbürt'ge Held,
Dem Gottes Einladung gefällt.
4. Der zieht das Hochzeitkleid sich an,
Er ist zum Fest bereitet,
Die Seele glänzet als ein Schwan,
Der sein Gefieder breitet,
Und in des Wesens leuchtend Schild
Erscheinet Gottes Ebenbild.*
5. Der Christ, der hochberuf'ne Gast,
Hat weiter nicht zu schauen,
Als nur nach jener Hochzeitstrast
Und ihrem Morgengrauen ;
Das ist's, dass er nicht schlafen geht,
Beständig auf der Wache steht.

* An apt portraiture of the fair writer's own character. M.

III.

DIE WENDUNG.

(Turning. Farewell to Meran, which, as the Tyroleans sing, lies in the lap of the most beautiful valley of the Tyrol ; see above, p. 198).

DU "Mutterlandel" im Tirolerland,
 Auch das Tiroler Paradies genannt,
 Du mahnst mich wie ein eigner Heimathort,
 Du nahmst mich auf, du warst ein Bergungsort ;
 Hier fand der Jugend Sehnsucht ihre Flügel,
 Sich aufzuschwingen zu dem höchsten Felsenhügel ;
 Sie schaute die Verwandtschaft Himmels und der Erde,
 Sah Wolken rauchen auf dem Felsenherde.

Und auf der Alpenzinn'
 Ueber das Schneefeld hin,
 Tief in der grauen Nacht
 Hält deine Gemse Wacht.
 Unterhalb lacht das Grün, .
 Darauf die Wolken zieh'n,
 Hangend in stiller Mitt'
 Winket die Sennerhütt.

Wenn sich nun niedersenkt des Auges Licht,
 Sich ob dem grünen weichen Sammet bricht,
 Der deine Hängegärten ausgeschmückt ;
 Dann ruht es wonnetrunken und erquickt
 In deines schönen Thales Gründen aus,
 Wohl schimmernd als ein reicher Blumenstrauss,
 Da—stark gewunden nach Tiroler Art—
 Der Mandelbaum sich mit der Pfirsich paart,

Die ros'gen Arme nach dem Himmel streckt,
 Daran die Mandel ihre Lilien steckt,
 Und sie umgibt des Weingeländes Pracht,
 In hohen Bogen aus des Erdreichs Schacht,

Die Thal und Höhen üppig überzieh'n,
Allabendlich* in dunkeln Trauben glüh'n
Gesiedet von der heissen Sonnenlust,
Feurig ergötzend des Meraners Brust.

Doch nicht allein viel Früchte edler Art,
Viel hohe Burgen mit der stolzen Wart',
Wo hier die Lanze der Cypresse ragt,
Und dort des Oelbaums helles Silber tagt,
Auf hohen Almen schlanke Kirchlein steh'n,
Die auf des Felsbewohners Güter seh'n,—
Dem drei Mal Früchte bringt der Feigenbaum,
Dies ist ringsher der Alpenbilder Saum.

O schönes Land, wo im Kastanienwald
Des Schützen munt'res Jodeln wiederhallt ;
Wo seine süsse Frucht ihm labt den Muth,
Er im bekränzten Mandelschatten ruht',
Auf altem Stamm ein neuer Wald sich hebt,
Und im Gestein des Baumes Wachsthum lebt,
Der Fruchtbaum sich durch seine Spalten drängt,
Mit seinen blüh'nden Armen Felsen sprengt.

Wie schlanker Epheu in dem grauen Stein
Untrennlich wurzelt als zu einem Sein,
Durchdringend sich zur stolzen Blüthenkron'
Und zu des Seidenbaumes grünem Thron :
So wiederstrahlt der Morgenröthe Duft
In hellen Eisesspiegels scharfer Luft,
Und wie die Sonne hier stets milde scheint,
So Liebliches und Grosses hier sich eint.

Hörst du das Brausen tief,
Wo einst der Felsen schließt ?
Das ist der Passer Bett,
Dahin sie sich gerett't,
Als jenes Berges Fall
Sie wider ihre Wahl

* In autumn.

Aus ihren Bahnen riss,
Und gen Meran verwies.

War reissend ihre Fluth
Vor andern Bergstroms Wuth,
So schäumt ohn' Unterlass
Durch jenen engen Pass
Der wilde Drang bergab
Zur starken Etsch hinab,
In deren weisses Meer
Ihr grünes Wellenheer.

Und in der Wasser Schall
Mischt sich der Büchse Knall,
Des Felsenkindes Art,
So keck zugleich als zart,
Doch über Allem thront
Die in dem Heil'gen wohnt,
Der Glockenstimme Laut,
Des Felsenlandes Braut.

Horch, welch' ein Rauschen dort,
Welch' vielverschlung'nes Wort!—
Hier war des Stromes Klang,
Dort des Gebetes Gang.*
Und durch die Lüfte wallt
Und zahllos wiederhallt
Um alle Tagesstund'
Der volle Glockenmund,

Der von der Sonn' erzählt,
Die auf- und untergeht,
Tirolers Bergmusik
Vom Glück und vom Unglück,
Von Berg zu Berg in's Thal
Und endlich auf einmal,—
Das Volk entblösst sein Haupt—
An's Unsichtbare glaubt.

* The “Bittgang” or the procession.

Im Herzen ach so warm,
 Den Stutzen in dem Arm
 Blickt der Tiroler drein,
 Er schaut so stolz als fein.
 In seiner kühnen Brust
 Schlägt stete Jugendlust.
 Er spannt das Todesrohr,
 Sein Jodeln dringt an's Ohr.

Ja hier ist noch des Deutschen Vaterland,
 Hier sind die fremden Klänge noch verbannt;
 Hier ist die schlanke Schönheit der Gestalt
 Noch Bild der Kindesunschuld und Gewalt.
 Und wie das Alpenröslein lieblich schaut,
 Tirol in seinen Kindern nun sich baut.
 Der Fremdling muss ihm Rede steh'n, wohin ?
 Auch wo er bleibt, das heisst, wo er vorhin ? *

Und keiner ist, der weiter wird gekannt,
 Als wie er in der Taufe ist benannt.
 Hier steht der Bauer als ein freier Mann,
 Legt seinen Schmuck auch bei der Arbeit an.
 Es wirft die Last das Mägdelein auf ihr Haupt,
 Tritt damit hoch einher, von Wein umlaubt.
 Man trifft die deutsche Sitte hier noch an,
 Der Welsche ist dem Deutschen nicht der Mann.

Hier wohnt noch Treu' und Glaube an das Wort,
 Die Bruderlieb' als gegenseit'ger Hort.
 Die off'ne Wahrheit ohne Zorn und Neid,
 Der klare Blick bei Kindeseinfachheit,
 Die Höflichkeit des Herzens sonder List
 Hier allgemeiner Lebensgrundsatz ist.
 Es blüht die Kunst aus der Natur empor,
 Die dränget Bild und Saitenspiel hervor.

Wie's Kind in Vaters Hause, so vertraut
 Lebt hier das Volk, ein Tempel hoch erbaut ;

* Where he lives.

Der Priester steht ihm noch an Gottes Statt,
Weil in ihm selbst Gott eine Stätte hat.
So zieht der frommen Brüder braune Schaar*
Von Berg zu Berg, an Haupt und Füssen baar,
Ein Wesensband verbindet Schaf und Hirt,
Das Lämmlein nicht auf eig'nen Wegen irrt.

Denk ich der Mauer lieb',
Wo wild die Passer trieb,
Bube die "Kästen" † briet,
Sang zu dem Wein sein Lied!
Oder der Zenoburg—
Geht mir das Herze durch,
Fort ins Passeierthal,
Stets meiner Tritte Wahl.

Schau ich von Berg zu Thal
Meraners Feuerstrahl,
Festlichen Flammengruss, ‡
Dazu den Freudenschuss,
Nachtigalls Abendsang
Am hohen Felsenhang:
Stimm' ich sein Sprüchlein an;
'S giebt doch nur ein Meran!

Horch ich des Priesters Wort
An dem geweihten Ort;
Lausche dem Morgenstrahl
Im St. Valentins Thal;
Oder mein stiller Weg
Führt mich St. Le'nhard's Steg;
Wenn ich den Jaufen schau
Ueber der Riffians-Au,

Die schöne Mendelspitz',
Muthbauers Felsensitz

* The Capuchins, the real pastors of the Etsch valley.

† Chestnuts.

‡ A festival on the first Sunday in Lent among the valley folk, when at night bonfires appear on all the mountains.

Vom schönen Marlinger,
 Schaurig und lieblicher
 Als and'rer Länder Pracht,
 Des Etschthals Bild betracht';
 Drüben des Naifthals Schlucht,
 Wildester Schönheit Bucht !

Denk der Karthäuserzell,*
 Von deren ernster Schwell
 Mein erstes lautes Wort †
 Ausging an ferne Ort ;
 Im Blick Ifingers Thron
 Mit seiner gold'nen Kron'—
 Nimmer vergess ich dein,
 Wo ich mög immer sein !

Trägt mich gen Windschgau's Au
 Der stolze Marmorbau,
 Strahlt mir mein Dorf Tirol
 Von seiner Burg : Leb' wohl !
 Wo ich so süß geruht,
 Durch Saumthiers sanften Muth :
 Ade, mein Rosenstein !—
 Zielspitz im Morgenschein.

Tirol, o mein Tirol !
 Du Land der Wonne voll !
 Dahin uns Gott gesandt,
 Und's Herz auf's Neu entbrannt !
 Land, wo die Jugend stammt,
 Wo der Sternhimmel flammt,
 Wo neue Kraft ersteht,
 Und der Herr weiter geht.

* Where she lived, in an ancient Carthusian monastery on the Rennweg.

† Allusion to the *Liebe zur Wahrheit*, published by the Countess in 1850.

Aus deinem Felsenhaus
 Auf eine Eck' hinaus,*
 Frischen Trunk in der Brust,
 Geht's nun in Fried' und Lust ;
 Aus stillem Rüsttags-Ort :
 Auf uns'res Gottes Wort,
 Gläubig wie Kinder thun,
 Die an der Mutter ruh'n.

Treten die Wallfahrt an,
 Wie's im Tirol wir sah'n,
 Ganz sonder Furcht und Frag',
 Dahin's Gelübd' uns trag',
 Das Gnadenbild in Mitt',
 Wir haben uns're Bitt' ;—
Gehorsam ist der Kern,
Sein Wille unser Stern.

THE MINISTER IN COMPANY.

Extract from a Memorandum Book, written by Ebel, Nov. 6, 1820.

“A minister should be as careful of his conduct and as watchful of his thoughts in company, even the company of his friends, as he is in the pulpit. The whole of his life should be one sermon. Let him therefore refrain, as much as he may, from taking part in general conversation, and reflect on every word *before* he utters it. Let it be his aim at all times to harmonize, explain and mediate. It belongs to his sacred office and ministry to preach *reconciliation*, first to and amongst men, and then by this very means, to God. Gracious Father, how humble we ought to be in Thy presence in order to avoid giving offence by a single word !”

* To Hoheneck, near Ludwigsburg, in Württemberg, where the author of the poem had bought a country seat, and went to occupy it with Dr. Ebel and his family.

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The Latin mottoes of these three parts are: I. *Res divinas non disputatio comprehendit, sed sanctitas*, Bernhard.—II. *Ut aulem magnum ornamentum est et vitæ humanæ et ecclesiæ, philosophia, cum recte*

erudite, sobrie et moderate traditur, ita pestis est et corruptela judiciorum, cum pro philosophia instillatur animis confusio opinionum verarum et falsarum et accessit studium absurdum defendendi verborum præstigiis, ut alii Epicureos furores, alii Stoicorum deliramenta, alii alias opiniones tueri conentur. Talis consuetudo parit sycophantas, artium et vilæ conturbatores, Melanthon.—III. Non tamen quia aliquando erratum est, ideo semper errandum. Non enim vincimur quando offeruntur nobis meliora, sed instruimur, Cyprianus. The German mottoes are equally pointed : I. “It is not the purpose of God to eradicate nature, but allow the natural to remain and to direct it to its right course.”—Luther. II. “The Godhead consists in the lordship of the To-be, and the ultimate and highest end of all philosophy is to advance from mere being to the lordship of the To-be.”—v. Schelling. III. “Of what benefit can truth be to us, unless, like the sun in the clear heavens, it shine into the eyes of everybody that looks up to it? What can it profit us if, flying from the open fields of the human, it is hidden in the mists of an exclusive school?”—Ph. C. Hartmann.

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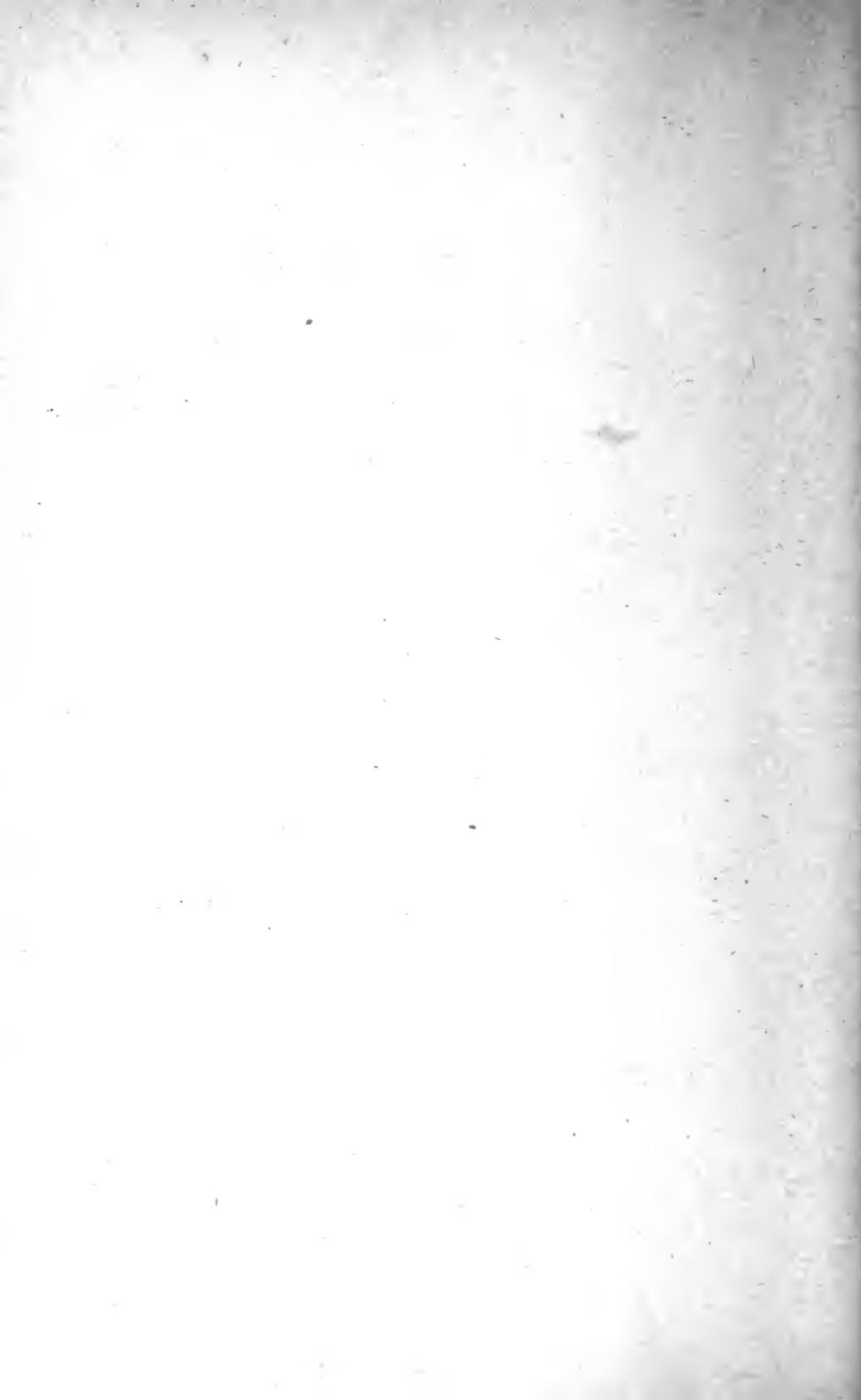
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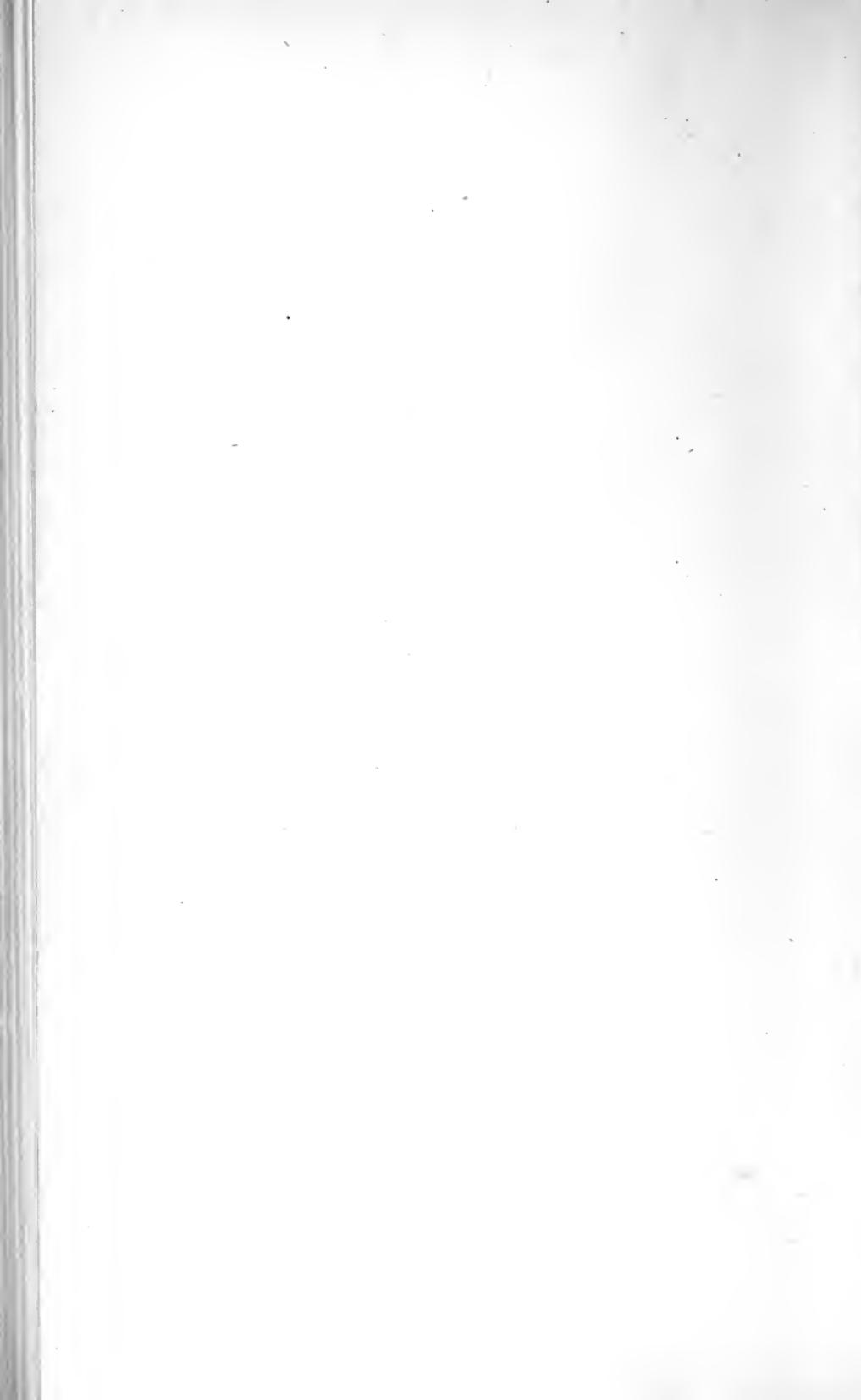
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